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TRANSACTIONS

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE

Antiquarian Society

1905

In Memory of
STEPHEN SPAULDING
1907 – 1925
CLASS of 1927
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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UNIV. OF MICH.

UNIV
OF

OLD HALL, MOTTRAM ST. ANDREW, CHESHIRE.

Formerly the residence of the Calveleys, the Booths, and the Wrights, is now used as a farm house and steward's residence. It is a black and white timber and plaster building, originally surrounded by a moat, of which three sides still exist, and situate about a quarter of a mile from the present Mottram Hall.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

VOL. XXIII.—1905.

MANCHESTER:

RICHARD GILL, TIB LANE, CROSS STREET.

1906.

The Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society desire it to be known that the Authors alone are responsible for any statements or opinions contained in their contributions to the Transactions of the Society.

The members are indebted to the Hon. Victor C. W. Cavendish, M.P., for defraying the cost of the illustrations to the Earl of Liverpool's paper; and to Mr. Thomas Kay for like liberality in regard to the frontispiece to the volume and the plates illustrating his own paper.

This volume is edited by Mr. Charles W. Sutton.

Stephen Spaulding Coll.
Lowdermilk
4-27-76

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VISITS AND EXCURSIONS MADE BY THE SOCIETY IN 1905.

April 15th -	John Rylands Library.
May 1st -	"The Old Crypt," Manchester.
May 13th -	Robin Hood's Well, Bull Hill, Hey House, and Holcombe Church.
June 3rd -	Toot Hill Roman camp,, and Forest Chapel, near Macclesfield.
July 8th -	Higher House, Alderley, and Mottram Old Hall.
July 22nd -	Tideswell Church and Whiston.
August 12th	Newton Old Hall and Winwick Church.
September 9th -	Melandra Castle, and Museum in Glossop.

Meetings for the reading of Papers, Discussions, and Exhibition of Antiquities were held monthly during the Winter Session in the Chetham College, Manchester.

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UNIV. OF MICH.

CARICATURE.

By Sir Joshua Reynolds.

CATALOGUE OF THE PORTRAITS, &c., AT HOLKER HALL, LANCASHIRE, IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RIGHT HON. VICTOR C. W. CAVENDISH, M.P.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

THE following catalogue of the portraits at Holker Hall is here printed in continuation of others relating to the Cavendish family, which have been recently printed,* viz., those at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire; Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire; Compton Place, Sussex; and Devonshire House, London, and it is hoped that they may be of some interest, and be the means of preserving the identity of portraits, which otherwise is not unlikely to be lost or forgotten. I must offer my best thanks to Mr. Victor and Lady Evelyn Cavendish, who have most kindly given the illustrations which accompany the catalogue, and also to Lady Louisa Egerton and Mr. Henry F. C. Cavendish for the invaluable aid they have given me in connection with this work.

*The catalogue of portraits at Hardwick Hall was printed in the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, vol. xxv., page 103; those at Bolton Abbey in the *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, vol. x., page 27; whilst those at Compton Place and Devonshire House will be found in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xlvii., page 82 and page 90 respectively.

LIBRARY.

1. Portrait of a Lady, believed to be the Duchesse de Mazarin, viz., Hortense Mancini, one of the five beautiful nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, who married Armand de la Porte, Duc de la Meilleraye, who was made by the Cardinal, heir of his great wealth, and who thereupon took the name of Mazarin. She left her husband in 1675 in order to become the mistress of Charles II., who gave her a pension of £4,000 a year. She remained in England, and lived at Chelsea, where she died in July, 1699, being then in receipt of a pension from William III. Three-quarter canvass.
2. Lord Frederick Charles Cavendish, second (surviving) son of William, 7th Duke of Devonshire, K.G., and Blanche Georgiana, his wife, fourth daughter of George, 6th Earl of Carlisle. He was born at Compton Place, Sussex, 30th November, 1836, and married 7th June, 1864, Lucy Caroline, daughter of George William, 4th Lord Lyttleton. He was M.P. for the Northern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire from 1865 to 1882, was Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1880 to May, 1882, when, on the resignation of Mr. W. E. Forster, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he was appointed to that office, and, going over to Ireland with Earl Spencer, the Lord Lieutenant, he took the oath as Chief Secretary at the Castle, Dublin, on the 6th May, 1882, but while walking out to the Viceregal Lodge in the evening of that day with Mr. Thomas Henry Burke, the Under-Secretary, he was attacked about 7-10 p.m. by a band of men, who murdered him and also Mr. Burke. He was buried in Edensor Churchyard on 11th May, 1882. Three-quarter canvass, by Sir William Richmond, R.A.
3. King James I. of England and VI. of Scotland. Three-quarter canvass.

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THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY,

FOURTH EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

4. King Charles II. Three-quarter canvass.
5. Thomas Wriothesley, 4th and last Earl of Southampton, father, by his first wife, of Rachel, Lady Russell. He was born 1607, and married (1) 18th August, 1634, Rachel, widow of Elysée de Beaujeu, Seigneur de la Maisonfort, in Perche, sister of Henry, Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, and eldest daughter of Daniel de Massue, Seigneur de Ruvigny, afterwards Seigneur de Raineval, in France, by Madeleine, daughter and co-heiress of John de Pinot, Seigneur de Fontaines and de la Caillemotte. She was born 1603, and died 16th February, 1639-40. He married (2) in April, 1642, Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Francis Leigh, Earl of Chichester; and (3) Frances, daughter of William Seymour, 2nd Duke of Somerset, and widow of Richard Molyneux, 2nd Viscount Molyneux, of Maryborough. He died without male issue, 16th May, 1667, aged 60. Three-quarter canvass.
6. Lady Elizabeth Percy, only daughter and heiress of Josceline, 11th and last Earl of Northumberland. She was born 1667, and married (1) Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle, son and heir of Henry Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Newcastle, who died 1st November, 1680, in his eighteenth year; (2) Thomas Thynne of Longleat, who was murdered 12th February, 168½; and (3) on 30th May, 1682, at Montagu House, she being then only in her sixteenth year, Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset, as his first wife. She died 23rd November, 1722, aged 55. Three-quarter canvass.
7. Lord George Cavendish, second son of William, 3rd Duke of Devonshire. He was born 1728, inherited Holker from his cousin, Sir William Lowther, Bart., 1753 (see No. 9); was M.P. in 1751 for Weymouth and afterwards for Derbyshire. He died unmarried at Bullock Smithy, whilst on his journey from Derbyshire

to Holker, 2nd May, 1794, and was buried at Cartmel. Three-quarter canvass.

8. Lady Elizabeth Lowther, third daughter of William, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, by Rachel, eldest daughter of William, Lord Russell, his wife, married in July, 1723, Sir Thomas Lowther, of Marske, county York, and Holker, county Lancaster, 2nd Baronet, M.P. for Lancaster in four Parliaments, 1722, till his death, which happened at Bath, 23rd March, 1745. His widow died 7th November, 1747, and was buried at Chelsea, 14th November. Three-quarter canvass.
9. Sir William Lowther, of Holker, 3rd Baronet, only son and heir of Sir Thomas and Lady Elizabeth Lowther, born 1727, succeeded his father 23rd March, 1745, and died unmarried 3rd February, 1753, leaving Holker and the other estates inherited from the family of Preston, of which his paternal grandmother was the heiress, to his maternal cousin, Lord George Augustus Cavendish, who dying unmarried in 1794, and was succeeded by his brother, Lord Frederick Cavendish, who also dying unmarried 21st October, 1803, the estate passed to his nephew, Lord George Augustus Henry Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Burlington. By Sir J. Reynolds. Three-quarter canvass.
10. William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, K.G., born 1673, succeeded his father 18th August, 1707, married 21st June, 1688, in the Chapel of Southampton House, St. Giles's in the Fields, Lady Rachel Russell (she then aged fourteen), eldest daughter of William, Lord Russell, and sister to Wriothesley, 2nd Duke of Bedford. She died 28th December, 1725. He died at Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London, 4th June, 1729. Three-quarter canvass.
11. Lady Frederick Cavendish: viz., Lucy Caroline, second daughter of George William Lyttelton, 4th Lord Lyttelton. She married 7th June, 1864, Lord

SIR WILLIAM LOWTHER

(1727–1753).

By Sir Joshua Reynolds.

UNIV. OF MICH.

Frederick Charles Cavendish. Three-quarter canvass. By Sir W. Richmond, R.A.

See No. 2.

12. Mrs. Nott, Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine of Braganza. Three-quarter canvass.
13. Portrait of a Lady. Unknown. Three-quarter canvass.

DRAWING-ROOM.

14. Sleeping Child. By Carlo Maratti.
15. Landscape. By Claude Lorraine.
16. Landscape. By Swaaneburgh.
17. Landscape. By Ruysdael.
18. Landscape. By Marcheron.
19. Landscape. By Hobbema.
20. The Card Players. By Teniers.
21. Landscape.
22. Lady Evelyn Cavendish, wife of Victor Christian William Cavendish, of Holker, and daughter of Henry, 5th Marquess of Lansdowne. By John Sargent, painted in 1902.
23. Battle Scene. By Borgognone.
24. Landscape. By Rubens.
25. Cattle. By Pynaker.
26. Storm. By Horace Vernet.
27. Landscape. By Poussin.
28. Landscape. By Ruysdael.
29. The Flight into Egypt. By Claude Lorraine.
30. Sea Piece. By Van der Veldt.
31. Landscape. By Ruysdael.

BILLIARD ROOM.

32 to 59. Twenty-eight Water-colour Drawings collected by Lord Richard Cavendish, and left by him in 1873 to his brother William, 7th Duke of Devonshire.

DINING-ROOM.

60 and 61. Men with Horses. By Wouvermans.

62. Large Landscape, with a River God in the foreground. By Claude Lorraine.

63. Rachel, Countess of Southampton, first wife of Thomas Wriothesley, 4th and last Earl of Southampton [see No. 5], to whom she was married 18th August, 1634. He was her second husband, she being then the widow of Elysée de Beaujeu, Seigneur de la Maisonfort, in Perche. She was sister of Henry, Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, and eldest daughter of Daniel de Massue, Seigneur de Ruvigny, and afterward Seigneur de Raineval, in France, by Madeleine, daughter and co-heiress of John de Pinot, Seigneur de Fontaines and de la Caillemotte. She was born in 1603, and died 16th February, 1639-40. Her daughter Rachel married William, Lord Russell, and their daughter Rachel married William, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, and was mother of Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, who married Sir Thomas Lowther, 2nd Baronet of Holker. Small full length, by Van Dyck.

64. Caricature, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, painted in Rome. The names of the persons are known. By Sir Joshua Reynolds.

65. Flower Piece.

66. Oliver Cromwell.

67. Battle Piece. By Borgognone.

68. Maud, daughter of Victor C. W. Cavendish, Esq., of Holker, and Lady Evelyn, his wife. By R. Peacock, painted in 1901.

69. Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th and present Duke of Devonshire, K.G., born 23rd July, 1833. Three-quarter length.

Water-colour copy, by Lady Abercromby, of the Portrait at Chatsworth by Sir J. E. Millais.

70. Edward, son of Victor C. W. Cavendish, of Holker, Esq., M.P., and Lady Evelyn, his wife. Three-quarter length. By Ralph Peacock, painted in 1901.
71. Interior of a Church. Thought to be by Neefs.
72. Landscape. By Ructenschild.
73. Interior of a Church. Thought to be by Neefs.
74. Landscape. By Ructenschild.
75. Sir Anthony van Dyck. By himself; some think that the head only is by himself.

HALL.

76. King Charles I. Three-quarter length.
    This picture was brought from Bolton Abbey (it had come originally from Londesborough) to Holker after the fire in 1871.
77. King Charles I. Three heads; after Van Dyck.
78. Queen Henrietta Maria. Three-quarter length.
    This picture was also brought from Bolton Abbey (it had come originally from Londesborough) to Holker after the fire in 1871.
79. King James II. Three-quarter length.
80. Anne Hyde, first wife of James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II. Three-quarter length.
81. King James II.
82. Landscape, with troops on the march.
    This picture was brought from Devonshire House.
83. Portrait of a Youth: believed to be one of the Lowther family.
84. A Lady: thought to be Lady Elizabeth Lowther.
    See No. 8.

Nos. 76, 78, 79, 80, 87, and 88 were brought from Bolton Abbey in 1871, having originally come from Londesborough when the house there was pulled down in 1819 by William, 6th Duke of Devonshire. The Londesborough estate was sold by him in 1840 to George Hudson, "the Railway King," for £470,000. It was again sold for the same sum in 1850 to the trustees of Lord Albert Conyngham, afterwards 1st Lord Londesborough.

85. Portrait of a Youth: supposed to be the son of Admiral Sir William Penn.*

FRONT STAIRCASE.

86. King William III.

87. King Charles II.

This picture was brought from Bolton Abbey.

88. Queen Catherine of Braganza.

This picture was brought from Bolton Abbey.

89. Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland.

90. Countess Grey, wife of Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, K.G., and her eldest daughter, Louisa, afterwards Countess of Durham. By Sir W. Allen.

91 and 92. Flower pieces.

93. Grotius: viz., Hugo Grotius or De Groot, the eminent scholar and statesman. He was born at Delft, 1583. He was a member of the States-General, and was envoy to England. Later in life he was banished from Holland, and entered the Swedish diplomatic service. He died at Rostock, 1645.

94. William Cavendish, Esq., eldest son and heir of Lord George A. H. Cavendish, afterwards, in 1831, Earl of Burlington, and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and heiress of Charles, 7th Earl of Northampton. He was born 10th January, 1783; married 18th July, 1807, the Hon. Louisa O'Callaghan, eldest daughter of Cornelius, 1st Lord Lismore; and died in his father's lifetime,

* Admiral Sir William Penn was the second son of Giles Penn, a merchant and sea captain trading to the Mediterranean, a younger son of a family which had been settled for many generations at Minety in Gloucestershire. He was born in 1621, and was baptised in St. Thomas's Church, Bristol, on the 23rd April in that year. He served as a boy under his father and afterwards in the Navy, and became a captain at the age of twenty-one. He married about 1639 Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, of Rotterdam, and by her had two sons, the elder of whom, William, born in the liberty of the Tower, London, 14th October, 1644, was the founder of Pennsylvania; and a daughter Margaret who married Anthony Lowther.

BARBARA VILLIERS, DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.

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MICH.

COUNTESS GREY AND HER ELDEST DAUGHTER,
AFTERWARDS COUNTESS OF DURHAM.

By Sir W. Allan.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, ESQ.

(1783 1812).

By John Hoppner.

UNIV. OF MICH.

being thrown from a dogcart when driving with his brother Charles and the Rev. Richard Smith in the park at Holker, 14th January, 1812. His eldest son succeeded as 2nd Earl of Burlington in 1834 and 7th Duke of Devonshire in 1858.

95. St. Francis of Assisi. By Cigoli.

96. Portrait of a Man, thought to be Sir James Lowther, 4th Baronet of Whitehaven. Born 1673, succeeded his brother Sir Christopher, 2nd October, 1731, and died unmarried 2nd January, 1755, when the baronetcy became extinct and his large fortune devolved on his cousin, James Lowther, afterwards, 1784, 1st Earl of Lonsdale.

97. Portrait of a Man. One of the Lowther family.

98. Portrait of a Man. One of the Lowther family.

99. Lady Louisa Cavendish, only daughter of William, 7th Duke of Devonshire, K.G., afterwards wife of Admiral the Hon. Francis Egerton. By Lucas.

100. Frederick and Edward Cavendish, younger sons of William, 7th Duke of Devonshire, K.G.

101. Portrait of a Man. Unknown.

UPPER CORRIDOR.

102. Lowther Castle.

103. View of Whitehaven. Over wardrobe at end of corridor.

BROWN HALL.

104. William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, K.G. He was born 1673; succeeded his father, the 1st Duke, 18th August, 1707, having married 21st June, 1688, Lady Rachel Russell, and he died 4th June, 1729. See No. 10. Small three-quarter length.

This picture was brought from Chiswick.

105. Dead Game.

106 and 107. Landscapes. By Bout and Bodwyn.

108. Daniel in the Lions' Den. By Richard Savery.

109. Landscape. By Storck.

110. Portrait, supposed to be Lady Charlotte Boyle, afterwards Marchioness of Hartington, and Baroness Clifford in her own right on the death of her father in 1753, the wife of William, Marquess of Hartington (afterwards 4th Duke of Devonshire). She was born 27th October, 1731; married 28th March, 1748, and died 8th December, 1754, before her husband succeeded to the dukedom.

This picture was brought from Chiswick, where it was in the Housekeeper's Room. See also No. 114.

111. Portrait, possibly Lady Arabella Stuart. By Mark Gherard.

112. Flower Piece, with the Virgin and Infant Saviour in the centre. By S. Vouet.

113. Old Man and a Boy. By J. W. Stap.

114. Portrait, supposed to be Lady Charlotte Boyle, daughter and eventually sole heiress of Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, and afterwards wife of William Cavendish, Marquis of Hartington, who after her death succeeded his father as 4th Duke of Devonshire.

This picture was brought from Chiswick, where it was in the Housekeeper's Room. See No. 110.

115. Josephus Justus Scaliger. He was born at Agen in 1540, being the son of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, generally known as the elder Scaliger. He became Professor of Literature at Leyden, and is said to have been master of no less than thirteen languages. He died in 1609.

BACK DOOR PASSAGE.

116. Portrait of a Man. Unknown.

117. View of Whitehaven.

118. Portrait of a Man in Armour.

119. Portrait of a Man in Armour.

120. Landscape.

121. Portrait of a Man. Unknown.

OLD LIBRARY.

No portraits.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH'S ROOM.

122. View of Venice.

123. A Cupid.

124. William Cavendish, 7th Duke Devonshire, as a young man. He was the eldest son of William Cavendish, Esq. [see No. 94], son and heir of Lord George A. H. Cavendish, and was born in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, 27th April, 1808. Married 6th August, 1829, Lady Blanche Georgiana Howard, 4th daughter of George, 6th Earl of Carlisle, and Georgiana, his wife, elder daughter of the 5th Duke and sister and co-heir of the 6th Duke of Devonshire. He succeeded as 2nd Earl of Burlington 9th May, 1834, and as 7th Duke of Devonshire 18th January, 1858, and he died 21st December, 1891. Sketch by Sir George Hayter, for his large picture, "Moving the Address to the Crown on the Meeting of the first Reformed Parliament in the old House of Commons on 5th February, 1833."
Now in the National Gallery.

125. Mrs. Cavendish, mother of the 7th Duke of Devonshire: viz., Louisa O'Callaghan, eldest daughter of Cornelius, 1st Lord Lismore, and wife of William Cavendish, Esq. (eldest son and heir of Lord George A. H. Cavendish), to whom she was married 18th July, 1807. She was born 5th August, 1779, and died 17th April, 1863. By Sanders.

126. Hagar. A copy.

127. Lord Edward Cavendish, youngest son of William, 7th Duke of Devonshire. He was born 28th January, 1838; married 3rd August, 1865, Emma Elizabeth, daughter of the Right Honourable William Saunders Sebright Lascelles and Lady Caroline, his wife, eldest

daughter of George, 6th Earl of Carlisle. He died 18th May, 1891, at Devonshire House, and was buried in Edensor Churchyard. By Lady Abercromby.

128. A Painting on Panel. By Anthony Tempest.

129. William Cavendish, Esq., eldest son and heir of Lord George A. H. Cavendish. He died in his father's lifetime, 14th January, 1812. Copy.

See No. 94.

130. Biblical Scene. By Cheron.

131. View of Chatsworth. By Peter Tillemans (1684–1734).

132. Blanche, Countess of Burlington, daughter of George, 6th Earl of Carlisle, and Georgiana, his wife, elder daughter of William, 5th Duke of Devonshire, and sister and co-heir of William, 6th Duke. She was born 11th January, 1812; married 6th August, 1829, William Cavendish, Esq., who succeeded his grandfather as 2nd Earl of Burlington in 1834, and after his wife's death in 1840, succeeded his cousin in 1858 as 7th Duke of Devonshire. She died 27th April, 1840, at West Hill, and was buried at Streatham, May, 1840, in the vault by the side of her eldest son William, who died 15th May, 1834, and her stillborn daughter, 2nd March, 1840, and afterwards removed with her two children, and buried by the side of her husband in the churchyard at Edensor, 26th January, 1892. By Lucas.

133 to 136. Small pictures.

137. Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, eldest daughter of John, 1st Earl Spencer, by Margaret Georgiana, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Stephen Poyntz, of Midgham, Berks. She was born 9th June, 1757; married 5th June, 1774, as his first wife, William Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire, and she died 30th March, 1806.

138. Lady George Cavendish, afterwards Countess of Burlington: viz., Elizabeth, only child and heir of Charles, 7th Earl of Northampton, who married

27th March, 1782, Lord George Augustus Henry Cavendish, who was created Earl of Burlington in 1831, and who died 1834. She died 7th April, 1835. Small pencil drawing.

Sold to Lady Louisa Egerton as "the Duchess of Devonshire" at a shop in Knightsbridge.

139. Spencer Compton Cavendish, Lord Cavendish, eldest surviving son of William, 2nd Earl of Burlington, afterwards 7th Duke of Devonshire, as a child. He was born 23rd July, 1833; succeeded as 8th Duke of Devonshire 21st December, 1891. By Lucas.

140. Charles Compton Cavendish (afterwards 1st Lord Chesham), fourth but third surviving son of Lord George A. H. Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Burlington. He was born 28th August, 1793. Miniature.

141. Anne Cavendish, second but eldest surviving daughter of Lord George A. H. Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Burlington. She was born 11th November, 1787, and she died 27th May, 1871, having married 25th October, 1825, Lord Charles FitzRoy, second son of George Henry, 4th Duke of Grafton. Miniature.

142. Henry Frederick Compton Cavendish, third but second surviving son of Lord George A. H. Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Burlington. Born 5th November, 1789, and died at Burlington Gardens, London, 5th April, 1873, and was buried at Eastbourne; having married (1) 24th October, 1811, Sarah, daughter and coheiress of William Augustus Fawkener, Esq., who died 31st October, 1817; and (2) 16th June, 1819, Frances Susan, only daughter of William Henry Lambton, Esq., and sister of John George, 1st Earl of Durham. Miniature.

143. Caroline Cavendish, fifth but second surviving daughter of Lord George A. H. Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Burlington. Born 5th April, 1797; died unmarried at Densworth Cottage, near Chichester, 9th January, 1867; buried in West Stoke Churchyard, Sussex. Miniature.

144. Lady Louisa Cavendish, only daughter of William, 2nd Earl of Burlington, afterwards 7th Duke of Devonshire. She married 26th September, 1865, Captain afterwards Admiral the Hon. Francis Egerton, second son of Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere. Water-colour drawing, by Rochard. 1838.

145. William Cavendish, eldest son of William Cavendish, afterwards 2nd Earl of Burlington and 7th Duke of Devonshire. Born 8th December, 1831; died 15th May, 1834; buried at Streatham, and afterwards removed with his mother on her death in January, 1892, and buried with his father at Edensor, 26th January, 1892, the thirty-fourth anniversary of the burial of the 6th Duke of Devonshire. Water-colour drawing.

146. William Cavendish, 7th Duke of Devonshire, born 27th April, 1808; married 6th August, 1829, Lady Blanche Georgiana Howard, daughter of George, 6th Earl of Carlisle, who died 27th April, 1840. He died 21st December, 1891. Portrait from a photograph.

147. Sketch in bistre.

BACK STAIRCASE.

148. The Right Hon. Victor Cavendish, of Holker, eldest son of Lord Edward Cavendish, born 31st May, 1868. Married 30th July, 1892, Lady Evelyn Emily Mary Fitzmaurice, daughter of Henry, 5th Marquess of Lansdowne. By Charles.

149. Painting. Copy.

150 to 154. Portraits. Unknown.

155. Fruit piece.

156. Flowers.

157. Landscape.

158. Man in Armour. Unknown.

159. Three figures.

160. Fruit piece.

STAIRCASE TO TOWER ROOM.

161 to 163. Portraits.

164. Group. By Hemskerck.

165 and 166. Flower pieces.

SMALL PASSAGE, NEAR SIDE DOOR.

167. Sir Philip Sidney, eldest son of Sir Henry Sidney, K.G., of Penshurst, Kent, and elder brother of Robert Sidney, who was created, in 1618, Earl of Leicester. He died without male issue 16th October, 1586, of wounds received at the Battle of Zutphen.

There is a similar portrait at Rufford Abbey, Notts., but it is now thought not to be Sir Philip Sidney. On panel.

SOUTH BEDROOM.

168. The three daughters of George Preston, of Holker, Esq.,* by Margaret his second wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh Castle, in Westmorland, Knight of the Bath. Anne, aged five, afterwards married as his second wife to Sir George Middleton, of Leighton, Bart., who died 1673, and she died at

* The above George Preston, of Holker, Esq., left by his first wife Elizabeth, sister of Sir Ralph Ashton, of Great Lever, Bart., three children—Thomas, Christopher (who d. s. p.), and Frances, who married Robert Duckenfield, of Duckenfield, county Chester. Thomas, the eldest son and heir, succeeded to Holker, and married Katherine, daughter of Sir Gilbert Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, Bart., and left three children—George, Thomas, and Margaret, who married Edward Ogle, Esq., of Whiston, county Lancaster. The elder son George married Mary Lowther, only sister to John, Viscount Lonsdale, and dying v. p., leaving an only child Elizabeth, wife of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., of Isell. Holker passed in 1678 to his brother Thomas Preston, who was born 1646, and married: (1) Mary, daughter of George Dodding, Esq., of Conishead Priory, who died s. p., and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Bradshaigh, of Haigh, Bart., by whom he had an only child, Katherine Preston, who married Sir William Lowther, 1st Baronet of Marske, and she brought the Holker and other Lancashire estates to the Lowther family. Her son, Sir Thomas Lowther, 2nd Baronet, married Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, and his son, Sir William Lowther, 3rd Baronet, d. young.

Leighton Ha
Elizabeth, age
Sayer, Esq.,
Borwick Hall (g
and (3) to Georg
left a daughter b
Robert Plumpton,
months, afterwards
of Biddulph. Datec

There are, besides, twenty
the south bedroom and twen
dressing-room, chiefly modern

LADY LOUISA EG

218. William Cavendish, eldest s
afterwards 2nd Earl of Bu
Devonshire, born 8th Decem
1834. Pencil drawing. By L
See No. 145.

There are also a number of engr
bedrooms.

At Mr. Victor Cavendish's London ho
are six pictures:—

1. Countess Grey, wife of Charles, 2nd E
eldest daughter Louisa, afterwards Cou
By Allen.
Moved from Holker. See No. 90.
2. William Cavendish, Esq., eldest son and
George A. H. Cavendish, who died in
lifetime. By Hoppner.
Moved from Holker. See No. 94.
3 and 4. Paintings by Müller.
5. Landscape. By Asselyn.
6. Oysters, &c.

Also seventeen water-colour drawings.

CHÆOLOGICAL DIS-
ALDERLEY EDGE.

AND F. S. GRAVES.

of our paper on "Prehistoric
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further light on the early

LEMENTS.

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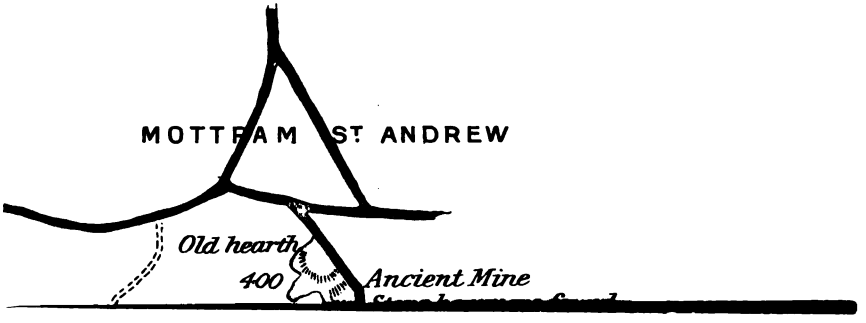

MOTTRAM St ANDREW
Old hearth
400
Ancient Mine

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AT ALDERLEY EDGE.

BY C. ROEDER AND F. S. GRAVES.

SINCE the publication of our paper on "Prehistoric and Subsequent Mining at Alderley Edge" in vol. xix., pp. 78-118, 1901, a number of new discoveries have been made which throw further light on the early occupation of the Edge.

Neolithic Settlements.

One of the most interesting features consists in the discovery of three distinct sites, used by the prehistoric people who lived on the promontory for manufacturing their flint implements. We shall take them *seriatim*.

The Site at Castle Rock.

To the south of the rocky eminence a footpath leads to the Macclesfield Road. The former is skirted on the east side by a ploughed field, while on the west, and at right angles to it, a small track runs to the Castle Hill, where we have found worked flints, both in the hedge bank and within the area of Castle Hill, up to a distance of fourteen yards from the hedge. On the margin of the

ploughed field, along the footpath, implements have been met with by us, for a length of thirty-five yards, and on the eastern part of the field they occur for a space of thirty-three yards; the complete boundaries of the site and its extent cannot be ascertained, owing to the cultivation of the field.

The original neolithic floor rests on the underlying Keuper, consisting of a friable brownish sandstone, the strata spreading out in gentle undulation, so that the level of the floor is never the same throughout. At the margin of the footpath, close to Castle Rock, it is found at thirty inches below. At the bottom, and for about three inches upwards, the rock-bed has undergone former denudation, and in consequence of hydration this bed of sand has afterwards hardened, and the implements embedded in it are not easily extracted. We have placed a specimen, with two flint knives in the hardened mass, on the table for examination.

The remaining twenty-seven inches are composed of loose bleached sand; the implements disappear here, and probably this light deposit is the drift sand, which in course of time buried the ancient floor.

Some of the flakes show signs of calcination and cracking, caused by fire; you notice also bits of charcoal and a cone-shaped lump of hematite, perhaps used for striking a light.

We have been unable to lay open larger patches of the floor, and, therefore, cannot speak of its neolithic state, but from the large number of implements found at the spot, which we examined, we infer an abundance of relics at this site. Our finds are confined to examples of nuclei, cores, flakes, knives, borers, and variously-shaped scrapers, amongst them a tiny flint-saw with seven square teeth on the edge of one side.

The knives preponderate, next in frequency come the scrapers; no micro-types are seen on the Edge.

The flakes and knives measure, in length, variously: $2\frac{5}{8}$, 2, $1\frac{7}{8}$, $1\frac{5}{8}$, $1\frac{3}{8}$, $1\frac{1}{8}$, 1, $\frac{7}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$in.; their width from $\frac{1}{4}$in. to $\frac{3}{8}$in.; the average length $1\frac{7}{8}$in.

On the whole there is much the same uniformity, and no appreciable differentiation or development of shape and make, showing no advance in the manufacture of the tools, and the general impression is that the people who handled and used them here for their every-day necessities lived in the simplest manner in the hill and moorland region, and satisfied their few wants.

The Site at the Disused Mines near White Barn Farm.

The rocky ledge which overhangs the entrance to this mine is covered with a blackish, mouldy sand, which, getting detached by frost and rain, falls down from the top to the level of the boarded-up shaft. From this soil we gathered a number of flakes and knives in December, 1904.

The Site at Engine Vein.

At the southern borders of this prehistoric copper mine quantities of flint implements are occasionally brought to the surface, especially after a heavy rain. Some of our largest flakes and cores are derived from this locality. The finds include a fine chert hammer-head and a first-rate horseshoe-shaped scraper, while the knives are rude and paltry. In all likelihood, we have not hit yet upon the proper spot, or the surface levels have been removed already by the early miners when getting to the copper beds.

No barbed arrow heads have been found. As may be expected, lost specimens are found scattered at different parts of the Edge. Many sites must be hidden away yet under the soil. The neolithic inhabitants probably lived together in clustering pit-dwellings, and may also have taken advantage of the many natural caves and rock-shelters. There was a good supply of water from the copious wells which issue from the fissured rocks; wild game must have been plentiful on the promontory and in the cloughs, densely grown with heather and scrub, and fish and water-fowl abounded in the meres of the neighbourhood.

At present the discovery of traces of former life is difficult and due to mere lucky accident, the Edge having changed its original moorland aspect. Planted as it is now with forest trees, and covered with a luxuriant growth of bracken, and added to this complication the multitude of rubbish heaps, earth banks, quarries, and hollows not only bewilder the explorer, but also destroy and conceal the natural contours of the ground.

The Prehistoric Shallow Pits at the Engine Vein.

In our first paper we dwelt at length on the honeycombed appearance of the mines, a memento of the miners who in prehistoric ages crowded the place for digging the copper ore, leaving to our later-day view a series of worked and partly worked shallow pits, sunk by them to that end. Since then we have gone further, clearing out the accumulation of gravel and sand which masked many of them. We have thus bared the floor to which these miners penetrated in search of metal, and obtained a perfect insight into the method followed by them at the Engine Vein. These pits correspond with

the situation of Pit No. 3, as marked on our former sketch-map, and cover twenty-seven feet of ground longitudinally.

A short recapitulation of the geological character of the beds to be seen here will explain the character of their operations. On the southern margin of the modern longitudinal shaft, starting from above, we have:—

	Thickness.
1. A stratum of soft, brownish, fine grained, rather laminated sandstone followed by an insignificant cupriferous layer	26 inches. 3 ,,
2. A somewhat coarser sandstone ... ... underlaid by a rather compact, quartzic, cuprous bed	15 ,, 1 ,,
3. A conglomeratic sandstone ... ... resting finally on a cupriferous bank	7 ,, 24 ,,
Total	76 inches.

What the miners did was to work directly from the surface to the first ore-bearing bed; so they sunk, at close points, a number of small hollows along the line, and then knocking out the sides of these hollows or pits they made a clear face; parallel to these they formed similar new sets of pits, and so on and on until the whole ground floor of the ore-bed was laid open and cleared from the incumbent dead rock.

In like manner the second and third ore beds were successively attacked, reaching the same by forming terraces; consequently the various depth of the pits coincides respectively with the thickness of the three strata of dead rock which separate the corresponding ore-beds.

Before, however, going lower they probed the beds

below to ascertain if there were any available ore. One or two of these small trial shafts, not more than twelve inches in diameter, are still in evidence. The richest and perhaps the only satisfactory ore-bed was found at a depth of fifty-two inches from the surface, being twenty-four inches thick.

We also find that, to facilitate the cumbrous work of removing the rock, they deeply under-cut the face first, and by the aid of fire loosened the rigid strata, for they have left *in situ* a large quantity of big lumps and blocks of highly calcined lead ore, some seven inches long and five inches high (weighing up to fifteen pounds), and sandstone, for the stacking up of rude fireplaces close to the rock-wall, which for a certain distance on the eastern side is considerably blackened, cracked, brittle, and discoloured; in addition to it we extracted from the bottom large pieces of charcoal and even a decayed stem of gorse, which formed their fuel.

The lead itself, apparently, was not made use of at that time, and the blocks were only brought here for forming their fireplaces. Whence they got the lead ore for that purpose is difficult to decide; it was certainly not found here, at the higher levels of the shaft. We also obtained similar calcined lead ore from one of these remaining shallow prehistoric pits at Dickens Wood.

On the western side, at Engine Vein, the copper runs out suddenly, owing to a fault, therefore their operations cease there on that side.

In clearing out the floor on its western side we discovered in the rubbish a large number of stone hammers, generally rude in make, four longitudinally-split halves, half a quartzite hammer, and twenty-two fragments, mostly from the hammer-ends, besides two complete hammer-stones, one of sandstone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$

inches wide, one of quartzite, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and 3 inches wide, the latter blackened and showing fracture-lines on the surface caused by fire. Both were used at the ends, and the latter partly also in the centre. They show fine pit-marks.

These are of special interest, as this type has not been found on the Edge in company with stone hammers. Since this paper was read we recovered a hammer-stone from the hearth at the Engine Vein.

We are inclined to think that they were only accidentally mixed up with the stone hammers and rolled in from the surface, for similar pitted hammer-stones have been noticed elsewhere on the site of neolithic settlements, one of which, as shown before, actually existed close by at the southern margin of this mine. But the most important find is the first *iron pick* ever brought to light from the prehistoric mines of the Edge. It was discovered by us in the central part of the excavated floor, and measures 12 inches in length and $\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter. At present it is highly incrusted with the old débris of the pit, having still particles of charcoal intermixed with the original mass of smashed up rubbish. This fixes the period when these pits were worked, namely, during the Brito-Roman occupation.

The copper ore at the Engine Vein was broken up with the stone hammers, then removed with oaken spades, separated, and heaped close to the mine where we uncovered a small deposit on the south side under the mould, consisting of small pieces of the ore mixed together with a greenish marl. On the west side are indications of some old surfaces with charcoal, pointing clearly to the existence of a hearth. Lumps of *smelted* copper and copper slag were found in the rubbish heap, but we have not succeeded, so far, in locating the actual point where

the smelting took place. They probably also collected the blue nodules of silicate of copper from the decomposed marls which abound here.

The outcrop at Engine Vein can only have yielded a limited quantity of ore, not in any way comparable to the profuse supply of ore derived from Brindlow, where great numbers of stone hammers were brought to light.

Shallow Pits in Dickens Wood.

Of these there must have been many similar to those just described. One still remaining seems to be part of a series which has been destroyed in later times by the Derbyshire miners, who drove their shafts here, and the same remark applies to the prehistoric mining site at Windmill Wood. Near this pit, in Dickens Wood, we found a good hammer-stone.

Mottram St. Andrew.

We failed to discover any of these ancient pits, as the whole surface has been worked off in more modern times. Stone hammers, as already mentioned in our first paper, are common here. In an old hearth we lighted on a piece of oak wood used as fuel; while on the Edge the gorse alone, in its decayed and charcoal condition, has been noticed during our excavations.

A Depository of Boulder Stones for the Manufacture of Hammers.

Here there occurs, adjoining the prehistoric Brindlow mines, a large hollow filled with big boulders, stored ready for use; for there is no other reasonable explanation of this extensive accumulation of boulder stones. The

men, no doubt, used it as their magazine in their preparation of hammers, and kept them here to draw upon, when required, instead of daily searching for raw material and depending on chance.

New Types of Hammers.

In our previous communication we have described the various forms that have been found on the Edge. We have now to record two new types:—

No. 1. Of sandstone, 6¾ inches long by 3½ inches wide and 2¾ inches high; the central groove measures 1½ inches, and the second juxtaposed groove 2 inches; the two ends are smoothed and rounded, the back is flat, and apparently was broken at one time. The two grooves are highly polished, while the surface of one extremity is coarsely pitted. Originally the hammer, which is unique in its kind, was much longer, and at least 10 inches in length, and the ex-central large groove must have served for the attachment of the withy; when it got fractured a new groove was made close to it, and later on it must have been worked even with the hand, as shown by the coarse pits further up.

No. 2. Also of sandstone, is of wedge shape, and rough in appearance; it has two grooves at a little distance from each other, one measuring 3 inches and the other 2½ inches; it has also a transverse pitted groove sunk in the middle.

Perforated Quartzite Hammer from Adlington.

We secured a fine specimen, which is one of a half-dozen, the remainder still buried *in situ*. It measures 5¼ inches

by 4½ inches by 2⅛ inches, the central hole is 2 inches in diameter, tapering down in the centre to 1 inch. It shows the pit-marks at the surface when the hole was drilled in.

The Large Circle near Macclesfield Road.

This circle, the largest at the Edge, and 30 yards in diameter, was levelled for agricultural requirements on October 15th, 1904, and has thus disappeared. We mention this particularly, as it is marked on the six-inch ordnance map. Before its destruction we had trenches made in the centre at right angles, but nothing was found in the soil. We came first on a light soil, then stony clay, and below at 4 feet sandy coarse loam. We were here on original ground, and so abstained from further useless attempts. On the other hand, we have to add a new small circle at Stormy Point.

Wells.

There are at least nine wells at different parts of the Edge, the more conspicuous being the Wizard Well and the Holy Well. These, and especially the latter, were in ancient times connected with well-worship, and propitiatory offerings were made by the people to the presiding deities, and also were frequently resorted to in Christian times, but doubtless the cult was observed here in much earlier days. Their healing powers were considered to be unfailing; the barren, the blind, the lame, and bodily-afflicted constantly made their way thither; maidens whispered their vows and prayers over them, their lovers and their future lives being their theme. Crooked silver coins were dropped into the well, but these have been cleared out long ago. At the present time the devotees are satisfied, in their economical habit, to offer mere pins

and hairpins; the custom is not dead yet, for some of the immersed pins are still quite uncorroded and bright. Some of the sex deposit the pins in their straight and original form, others bend them only at right angle, and as many again seem to consider the charm alone to act effectively when carefully and conscientiously doubled up. Maidens of a more superficial cast just give the slightest twist to the object. To judge from the state of corrosion, and the old-fashioned thick, globular heads, some of these pins must have been in the well for at least sixty years. We have brought three cases to show the various forms into which the visitors have tortured the pins, and classified them in groups. There are occasionally to be seen also a few white pebbles in the two wells.

The Pound.

The pound is a stone structure, now almost hidden from the visitor. We doubt if it ever were built for impounding stray cattle. It is made of large, compact, squared blocks of local sandstone, but the entrance and angular construction of the passage seem to make it difficult for any cattle or horse to squeeze themselves into it without dislocating their bones. We had no leisure to clear the floor of the small chambers to discover its intended use.

Tracks and Roads.

We alluded in our first paper to the *Saddle Bole*, an old smelting place probably used by the mediæval miners for extracting the lead, and we thought the name possibly due to its shape, but since then we have arrived at the conclusion that it must have been so called from the old saddle road which passed close by. In looking over the

map, in which the more prominent tracks and roads are traced, we are led to believe that they originated in distinct periods. Some seem to have connected a number of neolithic settlements, such as the tracks between Castle Rock and the site at White Barn Farm, and Brindlow, and from Stormy Point and the Engine Vein. During the last three or four hundred years there appears to have been a close communication between the Engine Vein and Abbadine's smelting place, and the Stormy point and Engine Vein and the Saddle Bole. A saddle road came up from Mottram Road to the Saddle Bole before pike roads were established; part of this road is seen cut through the rock at one point, as pointed out by Mr. George Bickham, of Alderley. This rock-cut road, upon examination, appears to be an original part of a carefully graded road leading from and across Stormy Point (where traces are distinctly visible) to the Saddle Bole, along the line of which at many points the rock has been vertically cut. No indication of the width is left, except on the flat-cut rock, where it is about six feet wide and sinking eight inches deep, and still twenty feet long, running north from Stormy Point. It is of trough shape, and can hardly have been a saddle road. We suggest that it has been made by miners at some unknown period, for the purpose of conveying the ore, possibly to the wind-exposed Saddle Bole, on flat wheel-less skids. The present footpath passes this rock ledge five feet below its level. By the side of another saddle-road, between Waterfall Wood and Clockhouse Wood, is a curious deep and large incision cut into the rock, the nature of which is a matter of conjecture. This road seems to have connected the mines of Mottram St. Andrew, and it falls into the road which passes the Engine Vein, used possibly in prehistoric times as a track, and in later

centuries for access to the Edge house. For full details we must refer to the map, which we have brought up to date.

Conclusion.

We see, then, what a fascinating study exploration of this beautiful district, now called the "Edge," offers to the investigator of its hoary past.

On our way we have met traces of the primitive neolithic hunter with his humble wants; we notice the slow advance from the Derbyshire borders of the Bronze-men, who introduced agriculture and the organised branches of the arts, and civilised intercourse on penetrating the neighbourhood. We pass the plucky Roman pioneer, who restlessly traversed the rough and wild country-sides in search of ore; we see the aboriginal, pressed into his exacting service, busy at the mines. No tumulus or vestige of habitation breaks now on our eyes on the Edge; no trace is left of his existence. The old workings alone and half a dozen earthworks still show us the sites where he laboured. There is a long blank, stretching through the period of Mercian and Anglo-Norman occupation. It is only towards the end of the sixteenth century that fresh light dawns upon us and the Derbyshire miner rakes up anew the ground where, ages before, the native Briton left off his work in the abandoned shafts.

It is but a slight picture we have been able to produce, but even for this let us be thankful, and trust that the future may have a large harvest of materials for a fuller representation awaiting us.

WILLIAM CRABTREE'S PLAN OF THE BOOTH HALL ESTATE.

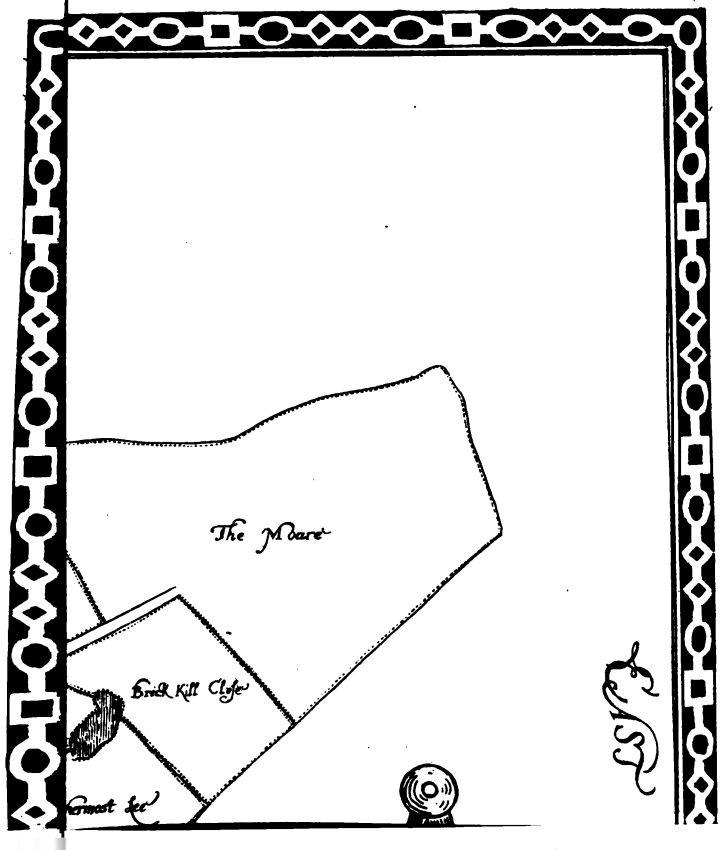
BY ERNEST AXON.

MR. T. H. DAVIES-COLLEY has recently presented to the Reference Library, Manchester, an estate plan which is of more than ordinary interest as being in all probability the work of William Crabtree, the astronomer.*

It is entitled "A true plott or topographicall description of one messuage and tenement of Mr. Humfrey Booth's lying in Blakeley in the countie of Lancaster," and is stated to have been "performed by William Crabtrie Anno Domini 1637." The map is evidently the work of a skilled surveyor; the lettering is exceedingly neat, though not entirely without flourishes, and the whole is enclosed in a coloured border of elaborate design. The scale is the old Lancashire one of seven yards to the perch.

That the surveyor was identical with the astronomer there can, I think, be no doubt. The Crabtrees were not a numerous family, and no other Crabtree of that generation is known to have been at all interested in the mathematics of which both astronomy and surveying

*The plan was exhibited at the meeting. A reduced facsimile, uncoloured, is printed in the present volume.


The Moare
Brick Kill Clyfe
Great Lee

were then regarded as subordinate branches, nor was there, so far as we know, any adult William Crabtree living in the neighbourhood other than the astronomer.

The received account of Crabtree, the astronomer, is that he was a clothier and lived in Broughton, that he was born in 1610 and died in 1644. Beyond the facts that he built a house in Broughton, corresponded with other men of science from about 1635 to about 1642, and had a daughter who was married about 1652, we know very little indeed of Crabtree.

Apart from the parish registers, local records do not contain much about either William Crabtree or his family. His name never occurs in the Manchester Court Leet Records nor in the Manchester Sessions Note-Book, and only once in the Salford Port Mote Records, and his will is not included in those in the printed *Index of Wills at Chester.* On 27th November, 1639, Henry Keley, of Manchester, made his will, and left a legacy of £10 to "William Crabtrie of Broughton," the name being spelled as it is on the map and often in the parish register, Crabtrie. On 14th October, 1640, William Crabtrie signed, with others interested in those localities, an agreement concerning the proportion of leyes and taxes levied upon Salford and its members which was to be borne by Broughton, Kersal, and Tetlow. In February, 164½, William Crabtree took the Protestation amongst the inhabitants of Broughton, Kersal, and Tetlow. No other William Crabtree above eighteen years of age was then living in the parish of Manchester, an important fact in deciding the identity of the surveyor and the astronomer. On 1st August, 1644, the parish register records the burial of "William Crabtree of Broughton chapman," probably the astronomer, but, if so, leaving unexplained and unidentified the William Crabtree who

compiled certain assessment books at the Chetham Library, which are dated 1650 and later. From a letter written by Dr. Worthington in April, 1659, we gather that Crabtree, the astronomer, had then been dead for some years, but between that date and 1644 no William Crabtree's burial is in the parish register. The fullest account of Crabtree was contributed by the late Mr. J. E. Bailey to the *Palatine Note-Book*, and a good brief life, written by Mr. Sutton, appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is possible that some day something further may be discovered about Crabtree, but since Bailey wrote, nothing of importance illustrating Crabtree's career has been found beyond this Booth Hall map, which shows him in his hitherto unknown capacity of a land surveyor.

The owner of the Booth Hall estate in 1637 was Humphrey Booth, son of Humphrey Booth the elder and father of Humphrey Booth the younger, both well known for their public benefactions.

The elder Booth had acquired the estate and before the date of his death (1635) had given it to his younger son Humphrey. There is or was on the front of Booth Hall a stone with the initials H B A B and the date 1640. This date has been assumed to be the date of the erection of the building, but Crabtree's map, made in 1637, gives a very small picture of the hall, the general appearance of which at that date corresponds with the appearance of the older portion of Booth Hall. This would seem to imply that Booth Hall was standing in 1637 and that the date stone must refer to some renovation or partial rebuilding.

The map gives the following field names: Clough, Gladin Croft, Ridd Earth, Great Field at Doore, Kilne Croft, Great Yarne Croft, Little Yarne Croft, Marled

Earth att Steps, Marled Earth toward Seaths, Smithie Croft, Roy Croft, Little Eves, Lesser Lee between Lanes, Great Eves, Longe Lee, Lee toward Hulmes, Furthermost Lee, Moare Hey, Brick Kill Close, The Moare. Most of these names occur in the deeds of 1708, when the Worthingtons purchased the property. The subsequent history of Booth Hall is given in Booker's and Wentworth's histories of Blackley, and to their accounts we need only add that the hall is now in the hands of caretakers, who will show visitors round for twopence.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES FROM THE DERBYSHIRE BORDER OF CHESHIRE.

BY THOMAS KAY.

I.

THE ROOSDYCHE OF WHALEY.

THERE is apparently to be found in the Roosdyche of Whaley Bridge one of the most ancient racecourses of Great Britain. It is situate between Buxton and Stockport, in the county of Derby, near to the river Goyt, which forms the boundary between it and the county of Chester.

We are losing many old racecourses. Tradition speaks of there having been one on Stockport Moor. The one at Heaton Norris has been cut through by the London & North-Western Railway between Wellington Road and the Old Road, near to the Ash Inn. It was in full swing A.D. 1845. The racecourse on Werneth Low is half of it under the plough and was last used in 1850.

Wilmslow is still in possession of its racecourse, which might be converted into an excellent cycle and motor track, and the inner portion into a cricket or football ground, an area of great value to an improving residential district.

The Roosdyche of Whaley is a glade-like valley

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between two high banks which are now covered with trees, and it forms a straight course of about half a mile in length. At the south end there is what I think is evidence of a Spina or central bank, around which races may have been conducted after the fashion of the Cursus Maximus in ancient Rome, but, of course, in a much more modest way.

The Cursus Maximus was of an oblong circular form, three stadia long, each stadia is of one and a half furlongs, so that the length of the course was nine hundred and ninety yards and its breadth one stadium or three hundred and thirty yards, with rows of seats all round called Fori or Spectacula. It would contain one hundred and fifty thousand persons (Dionysius, iii. 68), or two hundred and fifty thousand according to Pliny (xxxvi., 15, s. 24). Its circumference was one mile, surrounded by a ditch or dyke called Euripus, ten feet broad and ten feet deep, with proper places for people to go in and out without disturbance. On one end there were several openings (ostia) from which the horses and chariots started (emittebantur) called Carceres or starting-places, where the horses were stayed until the master gave the signal. A white line of lime or chalk or a cord was used either at the start or finish, probably the chalk to start and the cord to finish, hence it was called the Creta or Calx. "Mors ultima linea rerum est," as Horace puts it (Death is the last line or goal of affairs). In the middle there was a brick wall about twelve feet wide and four feet high called Spina, which was kept always to the left in racing. At the starting-place there were seven oval pillars or spheres, which marked by their removal the number of rounds made, for that was the usual number for a race of chariots. Before the gates there were processions with images of the gods on

carriages or on men's shoulders, with all the attendants, combatants, dancers, musicians, &c., and the priests performed sacred rites. Every faction had its colour, as white, red, light or dark blue, green, gold, and purple, which are the jockey's colours of to-day.

The Roosdyche of Whaley is about the same length as the Cursus Maximus of Rome in a straight line between high banks; it is not so broad, but it is much wider than the Rawdyke of Leicester. There is the appearance of a levelling up across what may have been the "spina" to form the modern footpath which at present intersects it. It would not be difficult therefrom to reconstruct a racecourse after the manner of the Cursus Maximus.

This interesting place has not been interfered with by engineers or builders, except that a stone wall has been built across the south end, where a pathway crosses it and some levelling up seems to have been done as before alluded to, and another wall has been built to the north, which seems to be a territorial division. It may now be seen in its most ancient form, subject only to nature's remodelling and a tree planter's idea of utilising the deep sides or dykes which were useless for grazing, so as to make a beautiful glade in a woodland.

I visited it on the 22nd of July, 1905, and noticed that it gives a very uneven "pitch" for the modern game of cricket, then being played by some young men of Whaley, who were recreating themselves on the Saturday afternoon after their week's labour.

One may be excused for only seeing in the Roosdyche a landslip of natural formation unless in possession of other information. There can be little doubt that, originally a landslip, it has been improved by art. The north side is composed of broken stratified rock and earth, and the south dyke on the lower side is composed

THE ROOSDYCHE OF WHALEY.

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of loose stones and soil evidently artificially raised either in whole or in part.

The position of the Roosdyche is most admirable and the view from it is extensive. The valley of the Goyt is visible towards its source. Hills intervene above Pott Shrigley, between it and Macclesfield. The "Bow-stones" range, above Disley, hides the plains of Cheshire, whilst the mountain ranges, with the valleys of Edale and Castleton, behind Mam Tor and Mount Famine, stretch away to the north.

Amidst these bleak heather-clad hills, their quietude only disturbed by the cry of the grouse rising at the approach of some beast of prey, one may picture a race day of the Romans. Soldiers on foot and on horseback from forts Melandra, Brough, Buxton, Forest, Torkington, Stockport, and Manchester. Fair-haired Britons, nearly naked, descend from their fastnesses of Mam Tor and Coombs Moss amongst the hills; the centurions and generals, in casque and armour, are assembled upon this busy hill; the wrestlers anoint their bodies, servants groom the horses, slaves clean the chariots, the screaming shout of many throats as the racers start on their headlong course,—and so the mind delights to take the eye to a far-off time, one thousand six hundred years ago, before the Romans were called away to defend their homes in Italy.

I have prepared a map, which will show the central position which the Roosdyche occupied amidst the ascertained Roman and British camps of the district.

On the north side of what I call the Spina there is a beautiful piece of level turf within the trees.

It is perhaps twenty years ago that I was told by my friend Mr. John Lewis that he had seen the Rawdykes at Leicester, which was a Roman racecourse, and that this similar place at Whaley had the like name, and hence

how probable it was that it had been made for the same purpose. I should like to conduct the members of this Society thereto, and to have it surveyed and planned out for record herein.

There are near Stonehaven, Kincardineshire, Scotland, some earthworks known as "Raedykes" (pronounced Rawdykes).

In Murray's *Handbook of Leicester* we find on page 110: "The Raw-Dykes near the junction of the Burton Railway with the Swannington line is supposed to be a corruption of Rhedagua, and to have been the site of a Roman racecourse."

Again, in the *Handbook of Leicester*, second edition, by James Thompson (member of the British Archæological Association), Leicester, 1846, page 27: "The Raw-Dykes present another proof of the former occupation of the site of Leicester by the Romans. They consist of two parallel banks of earth, which extend for several yards in a north-easterly direction, behind the Aylestone tollgate. They lie about two miles from the centre of Leicester, on the Aylestone road." These ramparts have at various times attracted the attention and excited the curiosity of antiquaries and enquiring minds generally. Camden, Burton, and Stavely have written about them, and offered their views as to their origin and purpose.

A survey was made of these mounds in 1752 by Mr. William Lea, of Leicester, who measured their breadth across the top and bottom in eleven different places. Their length was then six hundred and thirty-four yards and three feet, their breadth within the banks at bottom fifteen yards ten inches, from top to top eighteen yards. The breadth of the top of each bank was eight feet the entire distance. The dyke was somewhat larger in Camden's time than it was in 1752.

In 1760 Mr. Alderman Phipps, with the assistance of the military then in Leicester, altered the appearance of the earthwork by lowering one ridge to the extent of one hundred and sixty-three paces. In 1792 Mr. Throsby, the historian, measured the Raw-Dykes, and found Mr. Lea's survey to have been generally correct. The exact length of the whole was six hundred and twenty-nine yards and two feet. It is now (1846) much shorter, the portion formerly near the town having been rendered almost level with the soil since Mr. Throsby's examination. The dyke, however, may still be discerned for some distance in the irregularity of the surface. I understand that it has now almost disappeared in the growth of Leicester.

I find a communication in vol. xiv. (1896) of the Society's *Proceedings* upon the Roosdyche of Whaley Bridge, the author of which, at the finish, says, "Roos is not an uncommon place-name, but I do not know what it means." I have to apologise for appearing as an apostle before the altar of an unknown antiquity, and to declare my opinion of it before the men of Manchester. The Anglo-Saxon word for Race, a trial of speed, was "Raes." Hence, there does not seem to be any difficulty in arriving at its derivation. Raes-dyche or ditch would be race-dyche or race-ditch, "ch" being only another form of "k." A dyke means primarily an excavation; thus the dykes of Lincolnshire are channels cut to carry off the waters of the fens. The "c" in old Scandinavian is always "k."

A dyke in Derbyshire is a ramp or wall made of the substances excavated from the earth; so a Raes-dyke means a place excavated for the purpose of racing or holding trials of speed with or without a ramp outside or within. In modern English, therefore, Raes or Roosdyche

means a racecourse. This change of a vowel is not uncommon in the English language, as a lane in the Lancashire dialect is called a "lone," and the Saxon "law" or hill is pronounced "low," as Werneth Low, Kinderlow, &c. Please note that Castra or Chester has had the "k" sound converted into "ch" by the people, whilst the "ch" in dyche is pronounced ditch or dyke accordingly as the resident national element has predominated, thus on the east coast ditches are all dykes, and *cæteris paribus* on the west, as in Lancashire and Cheshire, the dykes are all ditches. In Derbyshire they are dykes, and in Leicester, the next county south of it, they are also dykes.

Whether Raesdyke of the Saxons, who first followed the Romans in the invasion of Britain, and impressed their language so strongly on its inhabitants, or the Roman "Rhedegua" be the origin of the modern Roosdyche of Whaley does not so much concern us as the coincidence that each name refers to a racecourse. The ancient racecourse of the Roodee at Chester helps us a little by its similarity as being the Raes on the Deva. This by contraction and broadening of the vowel gives the present pronunciation of Roodee. If we suppose that these places were called Roman dykes, they would soon be contracted to Ro-dykes or Rae or Raw-dykes. The Roosdyke and the Roodee stand apart as being in my opinion derived from the Saxon Raes, for there is no s in Roman dyke, unless it was Romansdyke.

It is interesting to think that the Romans and probably the British before them, the Saxons, the Danes, and the English in one consecutive stream, have used this dyke for emulation in feats of strength and endurance. Now it is private property, partially enclosed.

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WINDYBOTTOM ON THE GOYT.

I learn from an old resident, now seventy-seven years of age, that in his youth it was a popular half-mile course for footraces, in which he often took part; and also that it was a favourite place for prizefights to be held, as the combatants when disturbed could easily evade capture by crossing the river into the county of Chester, where they were under another police jurisdiction.

II.

THE WINDYBOTTOM BRIDGE.

Windybottom Bridge is a single simple arch of red sandstone, thrown across the river Goyt. It lies between Marple Bridge and Strines in a picturesque valley, amidst a growth of forest trees, and, stretching from rock to rock of rich colour amongst the verdure, it has always been an attractive subject for the artist. Its construction and position, however, well merit a consideration by the archæologist.

In Roman times—with undrained lands and every river-bed a morass, except where it flowed either between rocky mountains or on a solid bed of stone—the valleys were to be avoided by travellers, as they are in countries without made-roads to-day, so that it was and is usual for travellers to find the track across the hills, where no water lies. On foot or on horseback no danger could thus assail them by bog or quagmire or detention by floods.

Arising from the south side of this Windybottom Bridge is the Marple Ridge road from Mellor to Disley, which ascends and crosses the canal, and continues almost in a straight line to Lyme Park and so on to Macclesfield, intercepting the Buxton Roman road from Manchester thereto at or about Bollington. On the north side of the bridge the track would continue across

by The Banks, Tarden, Mellor, Charlesworth, Higher Gamesley direct to Melandra Castle.

The bridge is not large enough for a main road of large-wheeled traffic, but sufficient to enable anyone to cross the only river of consequence in the whole journey from Melandra to Macclesfield, and, therefore, a very necessary provision for the Romans.

The character of the Windybottom bridge is somewhat peculiar, and it is, as far as I know, only found in these very ancient bridges, because modern ideas work out these results with smaller stones and more massive masonry.

The material being only of Permian red sandstone of the district could not exist for ever, and it is not unreasonable to expect that it would require rebuilding perhaps several times in its long history.

Mr. Joel Wainwright remembers an old friend of his telling him that the present bridge was only built about 1756, and this is quite reasonable and only to be expected if it was the principal thoroughfare between Melandra, Glossop, and districts to the south before Marple bridge and the one at Strines were built.

It may be noted also that there is a similar single-string bridge, which crosses the Kinder Brook above Hayfield, and it also forms a straight course from Melandra, *viâ* Edale Cross, to Brough Castrum.

III.

THE TORKINGTON MOAT.

So far as I can learn, nothing has been communicated to this Society about the Torkington Moat, which stands upon the most elevated position within the district.

To the east one can see as far as Marple Ridge, and north over the valley of the Goyt to Werneth Low. To

THE TORKINGTON MOAT.

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the west Stockport and Manchester are visible, while to the south is Hazel Grove, beyond which lies the Cheshire plain, stretching away to the mouths of the Mersey and the Dee and the Welsh hills.

Many surmises have been hazarded with regard to this singular construction. It is a volume of water averaging fifteen yards wide, surrounding an earthwork which is forty-eight yards by forty-nine yards in extent. The central portion has evidently been thrown up from the ditch to make a level area. This area was cut across by Mr. Matthew Shaw about 1860 to 1870, and he was surprised to find that there were no foundations of buildings thereon, because it was thought at that time that this moat had been constructed by some predecessor of the Leghs of (I believe) High Legh, the then possessors, for the purpose of building a mansion there.

Cæsar describes a Roman camp as a square surrounded by a ditch, usually nine feet deep and twelve feet broad, and a rampart of earth dug from the ditch, and sharp stakes (valli or pali) stuck into it.* In the light of this description it is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance Torkington Moat has to this origin.

It is very curious that a never-failing spring continues to supply it with water, which I incline to believe is the same which occasioned its construction centuries ago.

Indeed, such a natural advantage as it possesses to-day must have impressed itself upon the minds of those ancient people who were there long before the Roman advent, for it is only a sequence to a lake-dwelling, the earliest form of defensive dwelling, save that of a cave, known to us.

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* Cæsar's *Commentaria de Bello Civili*, ii. 1-15.

There is also a very peculiar earthwork to the north-east, within a short distance of the moat, which seems to point to a defence from the mountainous tribes of Kinder and that district.

On the ordnance map (one-inch scale) there is printed "Broad Oak Moat," Broad Oak being the name of the farm on which it is situated.

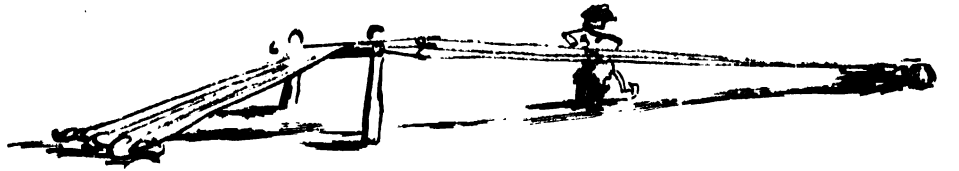
IV.

A LOOM WEIGHT FROM MELANDRA.

This is a unique specimen of its kind, for it is simply a water-worn pebble out of the brook, probably the "Edro" or Etherow of "Zedrotalia," the supposed Roman name of Melandra. It has been perforated for the purpose of suspension. It is unique as being the only specimen of a stone loom weight I have seen except on the Arab looms in the deserts of Assyria, where ordinary heavy stones are used to tighten and separate the woollen warps in weaving the tent cloths and the rough burnous which the Bedouins wear (see illustration).

This drawing of an ancient loom is taken from Barlow's *History of Weaving*. It shows the weights hanging below while the web was being woven above. The threads are crossed by the sticks, and the shuttle, having been passed between, the woof was hammered into its place above by means of a stick called a "spatha," and so the laborious process went on tediously and slowly. In the desert a woman passes the shuttle by hand, and hammers tight the woof with a stick in the same slow fashion, walking backwards to the shuttle and forward to the web, one strand only at a time.

The Romans perforated bits of broken pottery, and used them for loom weights. This stone loom weight



Weaving in Syria.

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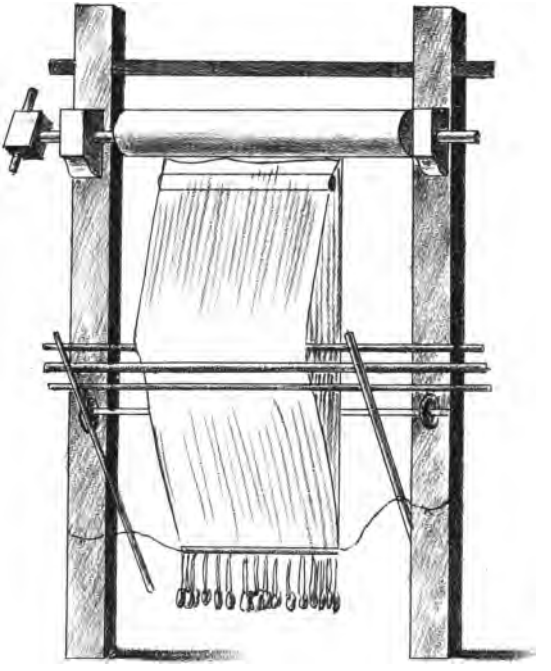

Loom.

Spatha.

Shuttle.

FROM BARLOW'S *History of Weaving.*

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would of nature be before pottery. Indeed, it may be said to be of the Stone Age, although found at the threshold of a Roman castrum. If this be so, and one can hardly doubt it, inasmuch as the common pottery loom weights of the Romans are here, this solitary perforated stone is a piece of the oldest loom—the most primitive and ancient loom for weaving of which we can speak. It is as much an integral part of it as the shuttle, and as a Lancaster man, Professor Sir Richard Owen, could sketch out a gigantic extinct bird, the Dinornis, from a leg bone brought from New Zealand to England, so it is possible to build up prehistoric looms from this bit of stone, taken probably from the mountain stream which rises in what is called the "backbone of England."

In this stone there was a circular opening. Excavating the clay therefrom, it was found that the stone had been drilled through at a place lending itself easily to that operation. At once it was obvious that it was a loom weight. It may not be uninteresting to state the use of this particular class of loom weight. In the handlooms of the ancient Greeks and Romans there were no rollers on which the threads of yarn were wound, preparatory to being interlocked with the weft and thereby forming the cloth. The threads forming the warp were of equal length and hung in a vertical frame, and the manner of putting tension on these threads was done by tying an equal number of them to a weight, and probably as many as one hundred of these weights were needed for the warp to weave a fabric which contained one thousand threads to the width. In these looms the fabric was woven upwards, and these stone weights, besides being useful as tension regulators, prevented the single ends of the warp from becoming twisted and entangled.

One cannot say with certainty that this class of loom

was introduced into Britain by the Romans. It is probable that a method of weaving necessitating the use of stone weights was in use in Britain long before the Roman invasion. It is stated that the ancient Britons did not know how to weave; but if such be the fact it is difficult to explain, as Mr. Alfred Barlow suggests in his *History and Principles of Weaving*, the presence of a woven shroud which was found covering human remains in a Celtic barrow which was opened in Yorkshire, and it would be equally difficult to account for the "motley tunic chequered over with many colours" which Boadicea is said to have worn under her cloak. The writer found a similarly shaped loom weight to the one he picked up at Melandra amongst the ruins of the Palace of Minos, at Knossos, in Crete—which Professor Arthur Evans described as a loom weight—but it was made of baked clay. This probably dates two thousand years before the Christian era, and there can be little doubt that the process of interlacing threads of wool or linen was common to all northern nations before the Roman era in Britain. It is not difficult, seated on the threshold of what has been a castrum or castle of the Romans at Melandra, where this was found, to imagine a woman setting up her loom inside this archway, making of it a textrinum or loomhouse, and weaving for herself and neighbours the primitive garments of the period. It may be her husband has gone to the wars, and she, like Penelope, is bewailing in tears his absence.

With her vertical loom propped under the archway, the Roman woman would have no fear of a "flying shuttle" or a devastating "trap." It is strange and wonderful to contemplate that the whole art and labour of producing a piece of fabric could have been undertaken and completed in this old archway by one person. All she needed was a fleece of wool spun into threads, a few perforated stones

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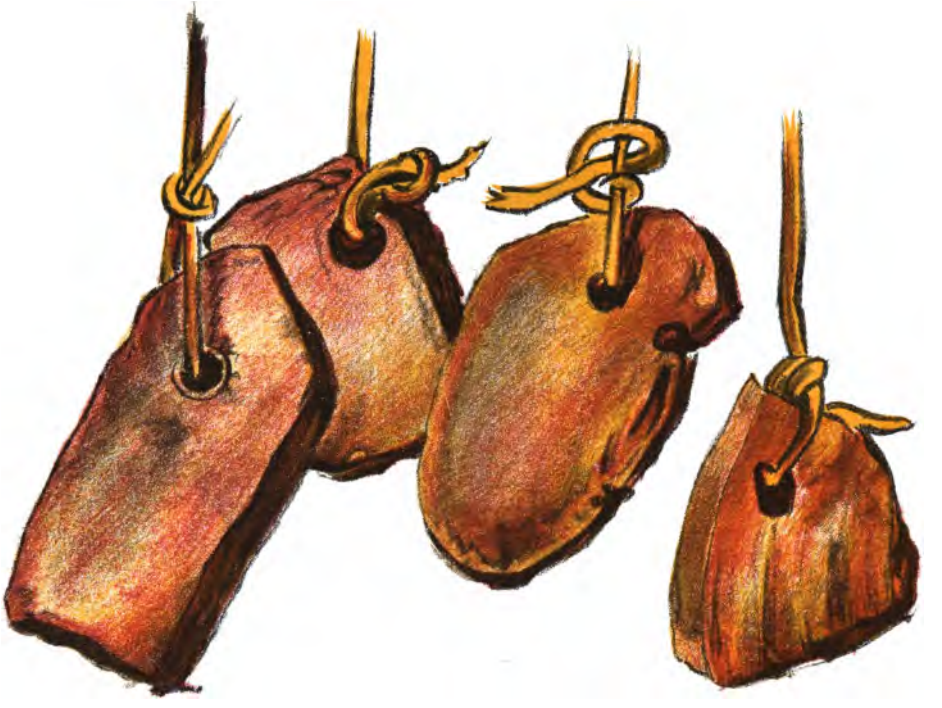
A STONE LOOM WEIGHT.

FOUND AT MELANDRA.

(Drawn from memory.)



LOOM WEIGHTS: ROMAN POTTERY.

FOUND AT MELANDRA.

ON A THIRTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY (RAWLINSON, C 317) FORMERLY BELONGING TO COCKERSAND ABBEY, AND CONTAINING EXEMPLA.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

THE Bodleian Library possesses a manuscript which formerly belonged to the abbey of Cockersand. Whether it remained in the possession of the monks until the Dissolution is not certain, but in 1661 it was in the hands of James Rigbie, and afterwards of Edward Umfreville, by whom it was given to Dr. Richard Rawlinson, and now forms C 317 of his MSS. It is fully described in Macray's Catalogue, but has partly escaped the indexer, and hence appears to have eluded the notice of Lancashire antiquaries.

It is a quarto volume containing one hundred and sixty-two leaves of parchment, and one hundred and fifty-three leaves are apparently all written by the same hand in the reign of Henry III. The contents are all in Latin and are of a varied character. The first article is a tract on the method of "enlarging" in sermons addressed to

the people. The next is the first treatise of Pope Innocent III. on the misery of the condition of mankind. The third is a collection of Exempla, of which I shall speak later. The fourth is a longer selection of extracts from the Fathers and other authorities on theological and physical topics, all intended for use in sermons. Then follow, more at length (5) passages relating to the coming of the Lord, (6) the Cross, (7) the Supper, (8) Easter, (9) miscellanea, (10) of thought, and (11) of the monastic life. The twelfth article is a collection of forms for the beginning and ending of letters, with examples taken from papal epistles, &c. The thirteenth section contains notes from the Decretals.

On folio 94*b* is written, in a handwriting of the fifteenth century, "Aut sanctum recipit, aut sanctum efficit, aut cito reijcit, sedes Cokersandensis." At the end are some fragments on which are various items concerning the abbey of Cockersand in the years 1255, 1256, 1260, such as the number of oxen, receipts and payments, and a carta de terra Ricardi clerici de Kirkham anno 1269. There is also a fragment from a commentary on the sixth chapter of Revelations. These fragments have been used for the binding, as they are cut in strips and odd shapes irrespective of their contents. When James Rigbie owned the book in 1661 he wrote his name on the outside half-sheet of thick vellum which follows leaf 153, and which was evidently the last written leaf of the volume. A leaf is missing at the beginning. It is a noteworthy fact that in this MS. the Arabic numerals are freely used. This is a very early date to find them in an English MS. That the MS. probably belongs to the middle of the reign of Henry III. is the judgment of Miss A. F. Parker (Mrs. New), who has transcribed for me the Exempla of which I have now to speak.

Exempla is the technical term for the anecdotes and narratives by which the preacher in the middle ages sought to arrest the attention of his audience when he wished to point a moral or adorn a tale. There was a great demand for these literary embroiderings of theological doctrine, and several collections of them are in existence. The "Gesta Romanorum" is an early example, and the "Promptuarium Exemplorum" of Johannes Herolt contains six hundred of these anecdotes arranged under their subject headings.

About the period when the Cockersand MS. was written Roger Bacon tells us that bishops and others not having had much instruction in theology or the art of preaching borrowed their sermons from young friars, who introduced all sorts of foolish matter into these discourses.* We have no cause to join in these strictures, for there can be no doubt that the preaching friars, and the priests whom they aided, had a considerable share in the preservation of these popular stories, which have travelled from east to west, and have formed a large part of the stock-in-trade of poets and novelists of a later age.

Considering how little we know of the individuals who formed the population of the mediæval monasteries, it is perhaps remarkable that we can name one of the monks of Cockersand, who may have been the author and compiler of the MS. now in the Bodleian Library. The *Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey*, which the Chetham Society is printing from a MS. in the possession of Sir Thomas Brooke, F.S.A., is a volume compiled by brother Robert de Latchford during the years 1267-8. The man who arranged the Cockersand deeds in order, and made

* "Opus Tertium," lxxv. Bacon wrote in 1267

abstracts of them, is a very likely person to have put together the miscellaneous contents of the Rawlinson Codex.

When we come to the Rawlinson MS. we find that, notwithstanding the diversified character of the contents, the writer regards it as a whole. It is a kind of theological encyclopædia, and in the section devoted to exempla he refers to other parts of his work in which such narratives may be found. In some cases he has thought it sufficient to give the mere title of the story, in others the narrative is transcribed in full. An analysis of its contents will, therefore, give us some idea of the materials at the command of the Lancashire preacher in the thirteenth century in his efforts to give theological and ethical instruction to the popular audiences whom he had to instruct. There are fifty-seven examples taken from Biblical sources. Eleven are from the "Vite Patrum," two from St. Gregory, one from Augustine, one from Anselm, one from Aristotle, one from Reynard the Fox, and one from the Barlaam and Josaphat. There are fifty stories of which the source is not mentioned. The names of SS. Nicholas, Marius, Lawrence, Lucia, Planctus, and Benedict occur.

The scribe begins with Biblical illustrations. Abel is an example of humility, Abraham of obedience, Joseph of continence, and so forth. Against the name of Enoch, with a reference to Genesis v., he has written, "De mentis mundicia in conjugali copula." Passing from the scriptural allusions we have a very miscellaneous collection. In one we are told that *taxus scilicet yffe* kills bees by the bitterness of its leaves. This is the only instance in which an English word is introduced. There is a story of a hermit who thought of removing near to a fountain, when an angel appeared, who said that for

thirty years he had watched every step the hermit had taken. Then the hermit decides not to change his abode. Some are mere similes. Thus we read that as a boxer dislikes the place where he was beaten, so the devil dislikes the cross; and the man who falls asleep in church is likened to a fly that drops into the honey and is killed. The parable against pride is of an arrogant king; a philosopher first bowed to the earth before him, as if to worship, and then took a seat beside the monarch. Asked the reason of this action he said, "Either thou art God or man. If God I must worship thee, if man I may sit beside thee." St. Andrew continued to preach when he was fastened on his cross; this teaches us not to cease from good works when we are suffering. The exempla writer tells a story of a certain philosopher, who could not gain access to the king when he was poorly dressed, but when he went in gorgeous array was at once admitted, and was granted the favour he desired, whereupon he returned thanks to the clothes and not to the king. This story is told by Etienne de Bourbon of Homer!

Finally, I may name the parable of the man in the well, which is also in the "Gesta Romanorum," and can be traced to Oriental sources. It forms one of the fables of Bidpai in the Pehlvi recension of that famous work. It may be found in Barlaam and Josaphat. There are versions in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Jacobus Voragine, Odo de Cheriton, and Vincent de Beauvais are amongst those who made use of this story in order to emphasise the miseries of this life.* The story was taken to

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*See *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*. Edited by Sidney J. H. Herrtage. London, 1879, pp. ix, 109, 466.

China by the Buddhist missionaries some twelve centuries ago.*

The exempla are more directed to the enforcement of morals than to the illustration of doctrine, and the Cockersand preacher bears his testimony against pride, covetousness, and other sins then to be found in Lancashire, and perhaps not even yet quite extinct.

MS. RAWLINSON, C 317, ART. 3.

(f. 8.) ¶ Exempla.

exemplum. ¶ Exemplum de humilitate, Abel, in Genesis 4.

¶ Item De obediencia, Abraham, Genesis 22 et Iterum ante 12.

¶ Item De mentis mundicia in coniugali copula, Enoc,

Genesis. Genesis 5.

¶ Item exemplum de continencia, Ioseph in egipto, Genesi 39.

¶ Item De cura circa subditos domesticos, Noe, Genesis 6 et Iterum 7.

29. ¶ Item De Laboriosa fortitudine, Iacob, Genesi 29 et Iterum 30.

exodus. ¶ Item De Mansuetudine atque paciencia, Moises, Exodus 12 et Numeri 12.

Numeri. ¶ Item De Zelo contra vicia exemplum, Finees, Numeri 25.

¶ Item De spe opinionis in dubiis, Iosue 8.

¶ Item De Inimicis preponendis exemplum, samuel, Regum 12.

Reges. ¶ Item Exemplum De potencia vindicte, Dauid, Regum 24 et Iterum 26.

¶ Item De audacia loquentis contra errantes, Iohannes baptista, Mathei 14 et Marci 6.

¶ Item De uolentibus animam pro domino ponere, Petrus,

Actus. Actuum 4 et Iterum 6.

¶ Item de appetitu contempnendi aduersa, Paulus, Actuum 21 et Iterum 22.

Apocalipsis. ¶ Item volentes accendi caritate, Iohannes, in iohanne et In apocalipsi per totum.

¶ Item Testimonia resurreccionis, apostolus ro. 6, christus resurgens a mortuis, etc.

¶ Item Iob 19, Scio quod redemptor meus uiuit, etc.

¶ Item Ezechielis 32, Ossa arida.

¶ Item Osee 6, viuificabit nos.

apostolus. ¶ Item thessa. 4, si enim credimus, etc.

¶ Item Ad philippenses 3, saluatorem expectamus, etc.

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* "A Translation of the Chinese Sutra," by D. Hayashi, appears in the *Open Court* for August, 1897 (vol. xi., p. 503).

Gregorius. ¶ Item Gregorius super ezechielis 8.
¶ Mirari solent quidam quomodo caro reuiuiscere possit ex puluere. Mirentur ergo amplitudinem celi, molem terre, abissum aquarum, omnia que in mundo sunt, ipsos quoque angelos creatos ex nichilo. Minus est ualde aliquid ex aliquo facere quam omnia ex nichilo fecisse. Et si bestie carnes hominis deuorassent, suscitabitur in quantum puluis hominis, non in quantum puluis lupi uel leonis. Perpende ergo si
exodus. uales quomodo mare rubrum uirga diuisum est, exodus 14. ¶ Item Quomodo petre duricia percussione uirge vndas emanauit, exodus 17. ¶ Item Quomodo uirga aaron sicca floruit,
Numeri. Numeri 17. ¶ Item quomodo ex eius genere ueniens uirgo concepit, ysaias 8. Item quomodo etiam in partu uirgo permansit, Luce 1. ¶ Item quomodo quatriduanus mortuus iussione
Iohannes. suscitatus, Iohannis xj. ¶ Item de persuerancia, feria v^a^ pasche. Item De hospitalitate, feria ij^a^ pasche. Quando
ewangelium. duo discipuli ibant in emaus. ¶ Item De gaudiis celi et penis inferni, feria secunda quadragesime. Item contra peccantes in ecclesia risu uel alio leui modo, feria 3 quadragesime.
ewangelium. ¶ Item Quomodo inmundus spiritus assumit alios 7 nequiores se, feria 4 exl. Item De rege qui dedit vnum et alium pedem pro filio et vnam et aliam postea manum pro filio et tandem
exempla 97 filius noluit patrem iuuare. ¶ Item De illo qui habuit 3
[*i.e.* fol. 97 of old numbering of MS.] amicos de quibus nimium confidebat, set in necessitatis articulo primus noluit dare panniculum qui designatur per mundum
(f. 8b.)* in morte ad sepulturam, secundus associare tantum no *luit vt parentes ad sepulturam. Tercius pauper dedit se totum uel christus in redempcione. ¶ Erbarum uirtus consistit
Vt exempla in hieme in radicibus, In vere in herba, in estate in foliis, in
auctoritatum autumpno in fructu. ¶ Item de arbore de qua legitur in
[?] 97 daniele 4. ¶ Item taxus, scilicet, yffe, occidit apes propter amaritudinem foliorum. ¶ exemplum contra mundum, sicut ille qui claudit viam fugienti. ¶ Item contra auaros, Sicut ille qui ligat denarium cum filo et proicit in luto, et ueniens quis uolens capere habeat manus deturpatas quia retrahit filum. ¶ Item sicut qui tangit anguillas quibus euadentibus remanent manus fedate. ¶ Item De diuite tristi et paupere leto, set
exemplum. inuenta peccunia tristis effectus est. ¶ Item Exemplum de sompniante. Item De esuriente. ¶ Exemplum contra carnem, Sicut arbor cuius fructus sunt in principio dulcissimi, in complimento amarissimi. ¶ Contra diabolum, wlpes ludens cum cauda abscondit corpus et cuniculus quod sit cuniculus secum ludens decipitur. ¶ Item contra auditores, Sicut mare proicere facit illum qui delicata commedit, sic amaritudo mundi illos qui audierunt uerbum dei. ¶ Item exemplum de porco qui comedit de spicis prima uice, et tandem reicit post prandium. ¶ Item exemplum de mercatore cuius bursa
exemplum a latrone inciditur. ¶ Duo pauperes erant qui litem habuerunt
de falso adinuicem quorum vnus habuit tantum quadrigam et alter uero

legista. vaccam, et conduxerunt ambo vnum legistam, altero ignorante, tandem allegauit contra illum qui quadrigam dederat et conquerens dixit extra uiam uadit, respondit vicinus eius, nescis, *exemplum.* uicine, vacca mea trahit eum extra viam. ¶ Quanto ouis magis appropinquat nocti tanto magis comedit, sic diues quanto magis accelerat mors tanto magis temporalia colligit. ¶ exemplum *Psalmus.* quod anima mori non protest in inferno. ¶ Mors depascet eos, Sicut herba commeditur ab oue et recrescit. ¶ Item sicut stans in aqua usque ad collum semper timet ne ingrediatur os suum et tamen non incurrat, set propter hoc fere emittit *exemplum.* flatum. ¶ Exemplum contra accipientes et nichil dantes. ¶ Sacerdos quidam habuit poma pulcherima ad quem uenit quidam ioculator dicens se habere matrem infirmam, rogans ut de pomis infirme genitrici sue destinaret, set sacerdos eo quod iculator esset noluit ei dare. Iterum ueniens mane ioculator dixit matrem suam esse defunctam supplicans ut missam pro ea celebraret et volens ei dare denarium, et sacerdos stans in orto porrexit manum suam per mediam sepem, quam assumens ioculator uerberauit dicens, semper *exemplum.* accipis et nunquam das. ¶ Exemplum quomodo omnia non sufficiunt nisi deus solus habeatur. ¶ Si esset possibile quod unus pes hominis staret super terram, alius super celum, et solem haberet in vna manu et lunam in alia et omnes angeli ei astarent, nisi deum uideret, hec omnia ei non sufficerent, *Augustinus.* vnde Augustinus in libro de spiritu et anima, Tante dignitatis est humana condicio ut nullum bonum preter summum *Exemplum.* bonum ei sufficere possit. ¶ Simia inueniente corticem nucis amaram derelinquit nucleum, sic de stulto penitente. ¶ Item Heremita quidam uolens mutare locum suum usque ad fontem vidit angelum qui dixit ei quod per 30 annos numerauerat omnes passus suos, et hec audiens heremita noluit habitaculum suum mutare. ¶ Item De ceco portante claudum ad *exemplum.* conuiuium. ¶ Item Exemplum de tribus gibbosis quos ribaldus submersit in aqua. ¶ Exemplum de religioso qui uidit in ingressu ciuitatis vnum diabolum et in egressu alium et in domo religiosorum infinitos. ¶ Item exemplum de vnicorne [*sic*] persequente hominem in deserto, et de fossa horribili impleta draconibus, et de arbore quam ascendit radicem cuius rodebant duo lupi, vnus niger, alter albus, et *exemplum.* dum porrexerit manus ad pomum cecidit in foueam. ¶ Item *vite patrum.* exemplum de fratre marino in vitas patrum, et de patre illius monacho quomodo nutriuit puerum alterius. ¶ Item De monacho eunte ad hermitorium et nouicio quam seduxit *exemplum.* diabolus in specie angeli lucis. ¶ Exemplum de cruce. ¶ Legitur in lege moysi erigebatur arbor in media ciuitate vbi ponebatur quicquid perdebatur, sic gracia per primum peccatum perdita per uirtutem crucis reinuenitur. ¶ Item (f. 9.)* semper *erigitur crux in ecclesiis supra hostium ut pateat quod per eam ingredi oportet. Item Ezechielis 9 legitur de

thau. ¶ Item Exemplum de elefante qui animatur ad bellum ostenso sibi panno sanguine asperso, set porco gruminente [*sic*] perdit uoluntatem pugnandi. ¶ Item sicut pugil magis abhorret locum ubi deuictus fuerit, sic diabolus crucem. ¶ Item De arbore quam timet draco ad quam confugiunt columbe. ¶ Duo milites erant rome quorum vnus occidit alium et filius occisi insidiabatur illi qui patrem suum occiderat et alius timens sibi non audebat exire de domo sua, set in die ueneris sancto propter passionem domini non uerens ire ad ecclesias per totum venit obuiam filio eius cuius patrem occiderat et postulans ueniam optinuit, tandem ille qui ueniam dederat adorauit crucem supplicans ut sic ei parceret quemadmodum ille pepercerat inimico suo, quem crux amplexus dixit quod eum in uita eterna amplecteretur. ¶ Item Mortuo rege apum accedit turma et ipsum deferunt ad locum destinatum, quo facto apes regem deferentes commoriuntur, vt dicit Aristoteles, sic nos cogitantes de morte christi per compassionem commoriamur, vnde ad timotheum 2, si commorimur et uiuemus. ¶ Reynewardus uolens decipere ysingrim lupum fame attenuatum nimis ostendit ei appotecam, scilicet, lardarium in quo satis posset commedere securus, qui augustum foramen intrauit ieiunus per quod saciatus exire non potuit, quod videns Reynewardus eleuauit ululatum super eum vt audirent serui de domo lupum percusserunt. Ita facit mundus cum quolibet cupido et auaro. ¶ Item paterfamilias pecoribus que uult occidere liberius indulget pascua quam illis que uult uiua reseruare, et dominus malis concedit alimenta temporalium quando preuidet eos cruciandos in pena, bonis autem temporalia pascua abnegat, quoniam ad uitam eos conseruat. ¶ Exemplum contra mundum. Siquis hospitatus esset in domo alicuius et nihil habens et hospes eius propria libertate sua ei uasa, robas et equos et huiusmodi accomodaret et ipse iactaret quod omnes huiusmodi res sue essent, Ita est de nobis, hospes noster est mundus iste. Non superbiamus ergo si diuicias mundus accomodauerit nobis tanquam hospiti suo et bene mundus hospes est. Sicuti enim hospiti uenienti hospes congratulatur et quamdiu cum eo habitat large de rebus suis accomodat ei. Recedente uero usque ad ultimum quadrantem emungit. Ita mundus dum in hoc exilio sumus diuicias, redditus et huiusmodi large nobis ministrat, set morientes usque ad ultimum panniculum nos spoliat. ¶ Item leo Rex ferarum exiguo scorpionis aculeo agitatur et exagitatur et ueneno serpentis occiditur. ¶ Tigris uero vbi uacuum rapte sobolis repperit cubile illico raptoris uestigiis insistit. At ille vbi se contiguum pre uelocitate uiderit sperem de uitro proicit et illa imagine sui illuditur et sobolem putat, reuocat impetum, colligere fetum desiderans. ¶ Item simia cum peperit geminos vnum diligit et alium contempnit. Quod si aliquando euenerit ut insequatur a

exemplum.

exemplum.

Aristoteles.

exemplum.

exemplum.

exemplum.

exemplum.

exemplum.

uenatoribus ante se amplectitur quem diligit et alterum collo portat, set dum lassa fuerit bipes eundo proicit uolens quem diligit et portat nolens quem odit. ¶ Item wlpis cum esurit se in rubea terra ut appareat cruentata inuoluit, retinetque flatum suum ita ut penitus non respiret. Aues uero uidentes eam non flantem et quasi cruentatam linguamque eius foris eiectam putant eam mortuam et descendunt super eam. Illa uero sic rapit eas et deuorat. Istius figuram diabolus possidet.

exemplum. ¶ Canis cum fluuium transnatauerit carnem uel aliquid tale in ore tenens cum uiderit umbram os suum aperit atque dum

exempla 78. properat aliam carnem sumere ipsam quam tenet perdit. Ita stulti homines propter ambicionem ignote rei id sepe quod proprii iuris est relinquunt et dum non ualent adipisci id quod cupiunt, perdere frustra norunt id quod relinquat.

Exemplum. ¶ Item ibis auis est que timet ingredi aquam quia natandi naturam nescit, set iuxta litus die noctuque obambulat querens aut mortuos pisciculos aut aliqua cadauera que ab aqua eiecta fuerunt foras. Ita carnales homines mortiferis

(f. 9b.)* operibus nutriuntur ad penam quasi misere anime. *¶ Rex

exemplum. quidam interrogauit quemdam senem si bonum esset pacem manutenere in terra. Cui senex, Bonum opus ageret siquis recte et discrete manuteneret. Dixit ei rex, Quomodo recte? Ad hec senex sanctus, Quidam Iuuenis uenator habuit iiij^{or} leporarios in funiculo copulatos et inuento lepore discopulauit tres, quarto retento. Illi tres secuti sunt leporem, tandem omnino deficientes reliquerunt eam. Postea dissoluit quartum cui solus ille suffecit ad capiendam quam omnes alii deficiendo negglexerunt. Quid ergo profuit lepori quod periculum multorum euasit et vnius morsu capitur et

Item. dilaceratur. Assimili. Qui populum sibi subditum ab incursibus inimicorum suorum undique inpugnancium bene protegit et defendit, Ipse uero insaciabili cupiditate feruens quicquid contra alios defendendo uirtuose saluauit illud etiam decausando uiciose subtrahit et consumit, quid ergo eis

exemplum. proficit? ¶ Quidam abbas cisterciensis ordinis cum casu quodam amisisset vnum oculum vnde monachi eius multum contristarentur inde, querebat ab eis vnde flerent an pro oculo perdito an pro oculo non perdito, qui dixerunt pro perdito. Quibus sanctus abbas respondit, Nolite fratres mei flere pro eo quod amisi set pro retento, quia prius duos hostes habui nunc autem non nisi unum; oculis corporis uidebat eua fructum illicitum, desiderauit et concupiuit, et ideo amisit

exemplum. felicitatem. ¶ Item Exemplum de mure qui non potuit transire flumen cui rana quedam promisit quod eum natando bene transferret, set filo alligatis pedibus cum uero rana murem post se traheret in aqua ambos miluus rapit. Miluus est diabolus qui sic malum prelatum et subditum rapit.

exemplum. ¶ Herbergarii transmarini peregrinis occurrunt, promittunt eis pulcrum uultum, aulam pulcram et cameras diuersas et

coquinas et huiusmodi omnia, quamdiu sperant lucrari et commedere cum eis, pulcherimum uultum eis faciunt, set quam cito uolunt abire uel omnia consumpta fuerint, eos expellunt et festinanter occurrentes similia aliis faciunt. Item falsus amicus est quasi lanugo que a uento tollitur et tamquam spuma gracilis que a uento dispergitur et tamquam
exemplum. memoria hospitis vnius diei. ¶ De diuersitate amicorum narrat barlaam. ¶ Quidam sapiens monuit filium suum quod faceret sibi amicos qui videns 3 uicinos esse necessarios rogauit ab uno quomodo posset et amiciciam comporare. Qui dixit, satis sum diues set indigeo operariis, si vis te ad opera mea obligare, volo tibi esse amicum, quod fecit et multo tempore pro eo laborauit. Postea quesiuit simile ab alio, et dixit se esse pauperem et si multa ei daret amicus eius fieret, quod et fecit, frequenter eum splendide pauit et munera ei largitus est. Querendo idem 3o simile ei respondit se nec peccunia nec operariis indigere set si caderet ad pedes eius et faceret ei homagium et faceret quod ei pro tempore
exempla 7. preciperet sicut seruus a domino amicus eius esset. Hiis factis, cum diceret patri suo se habere amicos, monuit eum pater suus vt fingeret se esse proclamatum a rege de crimine
supra 10. maiestatis lese et probaret amicos suos de auxilio. Veniens igitur filius ad primum amicum quesiuit quod in tali casu et articulo ei conferret auxilium. At illo audito quod contra regem crimen commiserat, Hoc, inquit, tibi faciam, proditorem regis de domó mea eiciam et quicquid potero de bonis eius rapiam. Secundus dixit, proditorem regis deducam ad carcerem et incarcerabo. Tercius ait, proditorem regis deducam ad patibulum et propria manu suspendam. Cum igitur filius totum narrasset patri, dixit pater, Nullum habes amicum. Set primus amicus est nominalis, secundus
exempla 14. mensalis, Tercius inimicalis, vt ibi 14 de caritate, De raritate amicorum. Cui dixit pater, vade ad amicum meum quem habeo solum et dic ei casum tuum, quo facto respondit ille, si furtum est porta ad me, si prodicium mihi inpone et ego moriar pro te. Et indicatum est hunc solum uerum esse amicum inter omnes. Primus amicus est mundus et peccunia pro qua se homo totum consumit nocte et die
ecclesiasticus. laborando et sollicitudo, vnde ecclesiasticus, Cun[c]ti dies eius sollicitudinibus et erumpnis pleni sunt, nec per diem nec per noctem sinitur dormire set in nocte quando rex magnus uocat ad curiam suam ut respondeat de transgressionibus suis nihil sibi dimittat, set aliis que habens tribuens nudum ipsum
Ieremias. e mundo eicit, vt dicat illud Ieremie, Commedit me, deuorauit me rex nabugodonosor, repleuit uentrem suum teneritudine
(f 10.)* mea* et eiecit me, propter quod in prouerbium dicitur, Ne des
prouerbium. alienis honorem tuum et annos tuos crudeli. Secundus amicus est caro et carnales amici qui procuracionem et pactum large recipiunt et vix tantum faciunt quod usque ad sepulcrum

deducantur et in profundum proiciuntur. Tercius est diabolus qui usque ad ultimum iudicium deducit et ibi sibi confederatum suspendit. Set quartus est solus christus qui solus pro amicis etiam et pro inimicis mortem sustinuit et solus uerus amicus
exemplum. fuit. ¶ Exemplum de resurreccione. Fenix auis est que in locis arabie perhibetur degere atque eam usque ad annos quingentos longeua etate procedere, Que cum finem uite adesse animaduerterit, facit sibi thecam de thure, mirra et ceteris odoriferis in quam impleto uite sue tempore intrat et moritur. De cuius humore carnis uermis exurgit paulatimque adolescit ac processu statuti temporis induit alarum remigia atque in
exemplum. superioris auis speciem formamque reparatur. Docet nos hec
exempla 106. auis exemplo sui resurreccionem credere. ¶ Item Sunt pisces in mari qui inuicem se deuorant et sua pascuntur carne. Minor apud illos esca maioris est et rursus ipse maior a ualidiore inuaditur et fit esca alterius predator alieni. Itaque usu uenit ut cum ipse alium deuorauerit ab alio deuoretur et vnum uentrem utrumque conueniat cum deuoratore proprio deuoratus fitque simul in uno uiscere prede uindicteque consorcium. Ita qui alium ledit sibi laqueum parat in quem
exemplum. ipse incidit. Hoc contra auariciam. ¶ Anselmus cum uideret
Anselmus. quendam puerum cum auicula uiua ludentem, Que auis pedem filo innexum habens, interdum cum laxius ire permittebatur fuga sibi consulere cupiens auolare nitebatur. At puer filum manu tenens retractam ad se usque deiciebat et hoc illi ingens gaudium erat, factumque est id frequencius. Quod pater aspiciens misere aui condoluit ac ut rupto filo libertati redderetur optauit. Et ecce filum rumpitur, auis auolat, puer plorat, pater exultat. Et notatis nobis, Considerastis, inquit iocum pueri et confessis considerasse ait. Simili consideracione iocatur diabolus cum multis hominibus quos suis laqueis irretitos pro sua uoluntate in diuersa uitia pertrahit. Sunt uero quidam auaricie seu luxurie et similium flammis succensi et ex mala consuetudine illis addicti. Hiis contingit aliquando ut mala sua considerent defleant seque amodo a talibus cessaturos sibi promittant. En more auis liberos uolare se autumant, Set quia prauo usu irretiti ab hoste tenentur uolantes in eadem uicia deiciuntur, fitque hoc sepius. Nec omnimodis liberantur nisi magno conatu per respectum gracie
exemplum. dei funis praue consuetudinis rumpatur. ¶ Item Exemplum de lepore fugiente sub pedibus equi eius ad refugium pro
exemplum. leporariis puerorum eius. ¶ Sicut gallina perdit oua sua per
exemplum. clamorem suum de quibus producere deberet pullos suos, Ita homo per iactanciam suam et uanam gloriam perdit bonum mentis propositum de quo bona procedere deberent opera.
exemplum. ¶ Item vetus olla vix aut numquam reparatus. Ita homo inueteratus in malo difficile emendatur. ¶ Musca cadens in mel tenetur ibi et moritur. Ita homo qui dormit ad dulcedinem uerbi dei. ¶ Item sicut pater puerum oscu-

latur et ipse euellit ei barbam, sic bene facit nobis deus et nos ingrati sumus ei dum murmuramus contra eum
exemplum. et precepta eius non seruamus. ¶ Item Corda in cithara quanto plus tenditur tanto cicius rumpitur, sic diues quanto plus se exaltauerit tanto magis humiliabitur. Simon magnus quanto alcius uolauit tanto durius cecidit. Quanto gradus alcior tanto casus sua et cui plus committitur plus ab eo exigetur. ¶ Item sicut spica pre multitudine granorum cadit in terra et putrescit, Ita aliquis ex copia diuiciarum uel ex magnitudine sciencie aut pulcritudinis aut facundie aut alterius talis rei cadit in peccatum. ¶ Item Gutta cauat lapidem, etc. sic sermo dei assiduis mitescere facit cor
salamon. auditoris. ¶ Salamon dicit, Mus in pera, ignis in sinu, serpens in gremio, male suos remunerant hospites, quia mus rodit, ignis urit, serpens pungit, vbi ista in corde sunt ibi
exemplum. christus non hospitatur. ¶ Item Clauus repellitur clauo et dolor est medicina doloris, Sic Amor dei firmiter repellit
(f. 10b.)* amorem mundi. ¶ Sicut* ursus ad palum ligatus circuit et
exemplum. ita ambulat nec proficit, sic aliquis qui est in mortali ligatus peccato laborat in ieiuniis et aliis bonis quod parum uel nihil
salamon. prodest ei. ¶ Sus quamuis anulum aureum in naribus habuerit, tamen terram euertit et luto se inuoluit, sic multipliciter stulta pulcritudinem castitatis sordibus luxurie polluit circulus aureus in naribus suis multipliciter pulcra et
exemplum. fatua. ¶ Sicut aui in uisco retente melius est partem plumarum ibi amittere et uolare quam plumas omnes habere et ibi retineri, Ita melius est, id est minus malum est, homini qui iurauit uel fidem interposuit ut mortale peccatum faceret iuramentum non soluere quam illud malum facere. ¶ Exempla contra auariciam. Balaam asella redarguit pedes sedentis attriuit quia captus cupidine promissorum, disposuerat maledicere populo israeli. Achor populus lapidauit quia tulit
exemplum. aurum et argentum de anathemate iericho. Naboth in teremptus est ut acab vineam possideret. Giezi lepra percussit quia peciit et accepit argentum sub nomine helisei. Iudas laqueo se suspendit quia uendidit christum. Ananiam et saphiram subitanea mors extinxit quoniam de precio agri
contra defraudauerunt apostolum. ¶ Nabugodonosor quia potenciam
superbiam. suam superbe iactauit et ait, Nonne hec est babilon ciuitas magna quam ego edificaui in domo regni mei in robore fortitudinis mee et in gloria decoris mei? Cum ad hoc esset
exemplum. sermo in ore eius vox de celo irruit, Tibi dicitur, nabugodonosor rex, regnum transiit a te et ab hominibus te eicient et cum bestiis foris erit habitacio tua fenumque quasi bos comedes et vij tempora transibunt et mutabuntur super te donec scias quod excelsus dominatur in regno hominum et cuicumque uoluerit det illud. Eadem hora sermo completus est super
Psalmus. nabugodonosor, verum est ergo quod legitur in Psalmo, Homo
exemplum. cum in honore esset non intellexit, etc. ¶ Philosophus

quidam uolens illudere cuiusdam regis arroganciam cum uidisset eum in trono regali sedere sullimen prostratus in terram supplicitur adorauit et confestim non inuitatus ascendens iuxta regem consedit, quod rex uehementer admirans eo quod non nosceret eum esse philosophum quid hoc egerit exquirit. Philosophus ergo respondit, Aut deus es aut homo; si deus es debui te adorare, si homo potui iuxta te sedere, sapienter respondit et prudenter illum delusit.

exemplum. ¶ Cum quidam philosophus in habitu contemptibili principis aulam adisset et diu pulsans non fuisset admissus, set quociens temptasset ingredi, tociens contigisset repelli, Mutauit habitum et assumpsit ornatum, tunc ad primam uocem aditus patuit inuenienti, qui procedens ad principem pallium quod gestabat cepit honorabiliter osculari, super quo princeps admirans cur

philosophus. ageret exquisiuit. Philosophus respondit, Honorantem honoro quia quod uirtus non potuit uestis obtinuit. O uanitas uanitatum, plus honoris defertur uestibus quam uirtutibus, plus

exemplum. uenustati quam honestati. ¶ De apostolis. Andreas mitissimus biduo pendens in cruce non cessauit predicare, docet nos propter penam non debere cessare a bono opere. Paulus docet nos in omni tribulacione deo gracias agere. Stephanus inimicos diligere. Laurencius similiter. Beatus Nicholaus docet nos dare, qui liberauit patrem ab inopia et filias ab

exemplum. incestu; et beata lucia docet nos quando dandum sit. ¶ Nota de quodam monacho qui credebatur sanctissimus tamen post mortem conquestus est socio suo se magnam penam sustinere propter omissionem suffragiorum que debebat mortius. Item reuelatum est multis sanctis in uitis patrum planctus animarum

iob. pro defectu auxilii propinquorum euenisse, vnde iob, Miseremini mei saltem uos amici. Et nemo transire debet per sepulcra mortuorum quin pro eis oret, opus est iusticie, et

exemplum. Qui pro aliis orat, etc. ¶ Nota de illo cuius mos erat cum transiret per sepulcra pro eis orare et sepe orando pernoctare quod in transitu eius auxilio animarum de igne purgatorio liberatus est, et ad requiem bonorum honorifice deductus quod

exemplum. socio suo reuelatum est. ¶ Nota de quodam simplici sacerdote qui zelo iusticie indifferenter cotidie missam pro defunctis celebrabat et cum inde accusaretur prelato suo et cum ad hoc ductus esset ut fideiussores inueniret standi iudicio et non haberet ecce tot legiones animarum apparuerunt manus pretendentes quasi fideiussores illius, asserentes se liberatas a

exempla 49. purgatorio assiduis eius celebracionibus et ita ab aduersariis

exemplum. miraculose liberatus est. ¶ Item De eo motus concupiscencia commedendi fructum uoluit probare utrum per penam temporalem posset sustinere purgatoriam denudans exposuit

exempla 39. se uepribus et spinis, et deuicit temptacionem. Ita eciam sanctus Benedictus fecit.

TWO LITERARY RELICS OF THE CHETHAMS OF NUTHURST.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

IT is interesting to note that whilst their ancient home has disappeared, and the name of Chetham of Nuthurst is no longer to be found in the list of the landed gentry, two relics survive to attest the literary tastes of this old Lancashire family, of which Humphrey Chetham the Founder claimed to be a cadet.

The first is a MS. copy of Gower's "Confessio Amantis," now in the Chetham Library (A.6.11. 41037). It has been carefully examined by Gower's latest editor, Mr. G. C. Macaulay, M.A., whose description of it may now be followed It is a folio in modern binding, containing one hundred and twenty-six leaves, written in double column, about forty-seven to sixty-one lines to the column, in the irregular handwriting of the later part of the fifteenth century. The Latin summaries, which should be in the margin, are almost entirely omitted; those notes in English which occur sometimes are added by a later hand. The quires are lettered (after the first two) C, D, E, &c. The first quire (A) has seven leaves (originally eight), the second (B) fourteen leaves (originally sixteen), then C twelve, D fourteen, E to G twelve, H fourteen, I twelve, K seventeen (originally eighteen). Four leaves are lost, viz., the first of quire A,

containing prologue, lines 1-192; two after B^3, containing book i., 1092–1491; one after K^{14}, containing viii., 2111–2343. Besides these leaves there are numerous omissions made by the copyist, who got tired of his work every now and then, and often left out parts of the passages between the stories. This gets commoner as we go on. The first that Mr. Macaulay noticed was book ii., 3155–3184; then iii., 41–126, 817–842, 877–930, 1119–1196; iv., 17–72, 261–370, &c. The volume is copied from a good MS., and gives a fairly correct text, though with late forms of spelling and some provincialisms, as "hom," "hor," for "hem," "her," the equivalents of them and their.

"I am of opinion," says Mr. Macaulay, "that the word 'Notehurst' at the end was written as a termination by the original scribe, and indicates that the volume was written for one of the Chethams of Nuthurst near the end of the fifteenth century."

The other Nuthurst relic is in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. It is a MS. on paper, consisting of two hundred and sixteen leaves, with thirty-six lines on each page. It is a translation of the "Historia Troiana" of Guido de Colonna into alliterative English verse. The text was printed for the Early English Text Society under the editorial care of the late Rev. Geo. A. Panton and David Donaldson (1869–1874). This "Gest Hystoriale" extends to fourteen thousand and forty-four lines. The editors mention that at the end is the word "Notehurst," apparently in the same writing as the rest of the MS. On one of the blank spaces there is written in a later hand, "John Chethaum, sonne and heyre of Thomas Chetham, late of Notehurst Decessyed is the very awner of thys boke, to be an here-lome at

Notehurst according to ye tenour and effect of my father's will. In witness whereof I have written this saying wt my awne hand. Iane Iohana Chetham."

The editors were not aware of the value of this evidence, and speculated as to Nuthursts in Sussex and Warwickshire. It is now nearly thirty years since I first pointed out the Lancashire origin of the Glasgow Troy-book. The inscription is not without its difficulties. Was it Thomas or John who made the MS. an heirloom? Thomas Chetham, who died in 1503, was succeeded by his son John, but there is no record of a daughter named Jane Johana. There is a reference in 1532 to a Jane Chetham, who is thought to have been a daughter of John Chetham. The style of the writing points to the time of Thomas Chetham, who may have been the scribe, or may possibly have employed some one to copy an earlier MS. for him. The Chetham codex and the Glasgow codex appear to be in the same handwriting, unless their resemblance is to be attributed to the style common at the period.

The editors of the Troy-book observe of the inscription already mentioned: "Certainly the 'saying' suggests more than mere ownership." As to the authorship they suggest Huchowne, of whom Wyntoun said:

> Men of good dyscretowne
> Suld excuse and love Huchowne,
> That cunand wes in literature,
> He made the Gret Gest of Arthure,
> And the Awntyre of Gawan,
> The Pystil als of Swete Susane.

The Huchowne poems have given rise to a prolonged controversy, which is not yet concluded. The dialect in which the Troy-book is written is declared to be "most assuredly not Scotch, but either Northern, copied by a

Midland scribe, or West Midland, with a considerable infusion of Northern words, such as might be expected from a man writing in the northern part of the West Midland area." That, of course, points to Lancashire as the place of origin of the existing text, whatever may have been its original form. And it is noteworthy that the alliterative poems ascribed to Huchowne are West Midland dialect. This suggests at least the possibility that Lancashire may claim as its own a poet who has been described as "a worthy contemporary of Chaucer, a man of rare powers and vigour, freshness, and grace; a man with an eye for the beauty of nature and woman; a heart for the delights of the chase and the battle charge; an ear for the song of birds and sough of woods; one who could speak in silver sounds, as well as in trumpet-tones, according to the message he had to give to men."

But whatever may be the final judgment on the Huchowne controversy, the Chetham Gower and the Glasgow Troy-book prove that in the fifteenth century the Chethams of Nuthurst were students of literature and lovers of poetry.

ON THE MANCHESTER ALTAR TO FORTUNA CONSERVATRIX.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D., F.R.S.L.

In dim and half-forgotten Roman times,
When Medlock's stream was silver-bright and clear,
A legionary soldier stationed here,
Remote from Rome, its triumphs and its mimes,

Far from its shining glories and its crimes,
An altar in Mancunium did uprear
To Fortune the Preserver—goddess dear
To all earth's races and to all its climes.

Rome's mighty empire now has passed away,
Her temples fallen, awful in decay,
And ended is her long and glorious day;
Yet still the altar holds its votive line.

Though thou, Mancunium, hold not now that shrine,
May Fortune the Preserver still be thine!

IN the year 1612 there was found, under the roots of an oak tree, on the banks of the Medlock, a part of an inscribed altar without either capital or base. It has often been described, but for a long time its place of rest was unknown. It is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. A careful drawing, with exact measurements, was made by Mr. J. J. Phelps in 1899. The inscription is complete. There is a patera carved on the right side, and on the left the jug with handle for pouring liquid for the sacrifice. The inscription when extended reads:

"Fortunæ Conservatrici Lucius Senecianus Martius, Centurio Legionis Sextæ Victricis" (To Fortune the Preserver, Lucius Senecianus Martius, a Centurion of the Sixth Legion, surnamed the Victorious). There is no certain clue to the date. Mr. Thompson Watkin points out that the Sixth Legion did not come to Britain until A.D. 120, when it accompanied the Emperor Hadrian. The inscribed stones found in Manchester show that building here was not done by the First Cohort of the Frisiavones, which is known to have been in this county in A.D. 103 and A.D. 124. There is a tile of the Twentieth Legion, a body which came over in A.D. 43 and was for some generations stationed at Chester. Mr. Thompson Watkin holds that the Sixth Legion was never stationed at Manchester, and thinks that the centurion who dedicated the altar to Fortune may have been in command of an auxiliary cohort or may only have been passing through the station. "In any event," he says, "the date must be subsequent to A.D. 120," and this, unfortunately, is all that we know of the first Manchester man whose name has been preserved by history.

The goddess Fortune is usually figured as a woman standing erect and holding in her right hand a horn of plenty and with her left hand on a rudder. She is also represented as seated, but with the same symbols and also with a ball. In some cases the rudder rests upon the ball, and in others she has her left foot upon it. Again she is represented as carrying a modius or corn measure upon her head or having it beside her. Ears of corn and poppy-heads are also her symbols. On a coin of Trajan she appears with a cornucopia, the rudder and the prow of a ship, and on one of Hadrian she holds a patera in her right hand. A Roman terra-cotta money box, now in the

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, has a figure of Fortune beneath the orifice for the deposit of coins (Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, 1905, ii, 390). Her figure is also found on lamps (*ibid*, ii, 413). Fortune's wheel is more frequently found in literature than in art, but a coin of Marcus Aurelius, struck in the year 176, represents Fortuna Dux seated, with cornucopia, rudder, and ball, and there is also to be seen a wheel which is placed beneath the seat of the goddess.

Amongst the Romans Servius Tullius was regarded as the beginner of the special cult of Fortuna. He succeeded as King of Rome in B.C. 578. He dedicated two temples in the Forum Boarium on the same day, one to Matuta and the other to Fortuna Virilis. In this temple of Fortune was an image, which is sometimes said to be that of Tullius, covered with two togas, and is sometimes spoken of as the veiled image of the goddess herself. Ovid tells one of the legends made to account for this fact. Fortune was in love with Servius and visited him by night. The goddess entered by a little window, and hence one of the city gates was called the Porta Fenestella. Another story also related by Ovid is that after the murder of Servius by his son-in-law, at the instigation of his daughter Tullia, the statue of Servius, seated on the throne in the temple, was seen to cover its face with its hands, and a voice was heard bidding them to cover its face that it might not behold the impious face of the unnatural daughter. The women of Rome are adjured not to touch the garments of the statue, and the removal of the veil was forbidden by the goddess herself. When the temple of Fortune was destroyed by fire the flames spared this statue (Fasti 573–629). Servius was the son of a god as well as the favourite of a goddess, for his mother is said to have been Ocresia, a captive girl at

Corniculum, and his father to have been Vulcan (Fasti 627–635). The stories, both of the birth and the statue of Servius, seem to be associated with phallic symbolism.

On the place where Coriolanus was induced by his mother and wife to renounce his intention of a hostile march on Rome there was erected a statue and temple of Fortuna Muliebris.

A modern writer has said that "Health is the only wealth," and something of the same sentiment may be detected in the inscriptions to Fortuna, with and without cognomen, in the neighbourhood of baths. Naturally Fortuna was the goddess of seafaring folk, and the appearance of the rudder as one of her symbols is characteristic. Fortune and Mercury are closely allied and have several names in common. Thus we hear of Mercurius Conservator as well as of Fortuna Conservatrix. Hope and Fortune are also allied. Fides and Fortuna were also united; Fides Fortuna is the inscription on a coin of Vespasian, which represents a goddess standing and holding a patera and horn of plenty. Fortune appears on the dedications of the altars of the four gods and of the twelve gods. There was from very early times a special cultus of Fortuna at Preneste and at Antium. At each place there was a famous oracle. At Antium the coins show two female figures, though Horace refers to the "Diva gratum quæ regis Antium."

The relation between the worship of Fortune in Italy and Greece, Fortuna and Tyche, is an interesting topic, but does not concern us here.

Orelli gives examples of dedications to Fortuna, and also of inscriptious to the goddess with various qualifying epithets. Thus we have Fortuna Adiutrix, Fortuna Augusta, Fortuna Augusta Æterna, Fortuna Barbata, Fortuna Bona, Fortuna Cohortis, Fortuna Consiliorum,

Fortuna Domestica, Fortuna Dubia, Fortuna Equestris, Fortuna Horreorum, Fortuna Iovis Pueri Primigeniæ, Fortuna Magna, Fortuna Obsequens, Fortuna Opifera, Fortuna Prænestina, Fortuna Prætoria, Fortuna Primigenia, Fortuna Primigenia Publica, Fortuna Redux, Fortuna Regina, Fortuna Respiciens, Fortuna Sacrum, Fortuna Tulliana, Fortuna Virilis, &c.

The dedications to Fortuna Conservatrix are not common. The Manchester altar and one at Netherly to Dea Sancta Fortuna Conservatrix are all that are mentioned by Hübner as occurring in Great Britain (C.I., 211, 954). The other inscriptions to Fortune the Preserver recorded in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum* are: Fortuna Conservatrix et bona dea Iuno (Alt-Ofen by Buda-Pesth), 10400; Fortuna Conservatrix (Vienna), 14359[26]; Fortuna Conservatrix Geniusque huius loci (Vienna), 4558; Genio loci et Fortunæ Conservatrix (Szöny, Hungary), 4289; Fortuna Conservatrix (Salona, Dalmatia), 1938. It will be noticed that all these dedications to Fortuna Conservatrix occur at a distance from Rome.

There are many references to Fortune and her worship in classical literature; the seventy-fourth of Plutarch's Roman Questions deals with the goddess. "Why," asks Plutarch, "did King Servius Tullius found and build a temple of little Fortune, which they called in Latin Brevis Fortunæ, that is to say, of Short Fortune?" On this he observes (to quote Philemon Holland's translation), "We are to say that this King Servius deified Fortune and attributed unto her more divine power than any other, as having entituled and imposed her name almost upon every action, for not only he erected temples unto Fortune by the name of Puissant, of Diverting ill lucke, of Sweet, Favourable to the first born and masculine, but also there is one besides, of private or proper Fortune;

another of Fortune returned; a third of confident Fortune and hoping well; and a fourth of Fortune the virgin. And what should a man reckon up other surnames of hers, seeing there is a temple dedicated, forsooth, to glewing Fortune, whom they call Viscata; as if we were given thereby to understand, that we are caught by her afarre off, and even tied, as it were, with bird lime to businesse and affaires." In the essay on Fortuna Romanorum Plutarch says that the Romans attributed more to Fortune than to Virtue, for the temple of Virtue was not built until much later. "To this very day," he says, "there is no temple built to Temperance, Patience, Magnanimity, and Continence, whereas the temples dedicated to Fortune are splendid and ancient, almost as old as the first foundations of Rome." But there were other voices amongst the Romans. Juvenal's saying,

> Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; nos te
> Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam cœloque locamus,*

does not stand alone.

One of the famous odes of Horace is wholly devoted to the goddess. He pictures Fortune as preceded by Fate and attended by Hope and Faith, and he implores the goddess to guard Cæsar in his coming journey to the Britons at the world's end.

"Sernes iterum Cæsarem in ultimos orbis Britannos" is a passage not to be forgotten in reference to a British altar to Fortune. And in this ode we have perhaps the

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* All the powers
Will be our own, if wisdom be but ours.
And yet to thee, vain Fortune, we have given
The name of goddess and placed thee in heaven.
(Stapylton's translation.)

See Professor John E. B. Mayor's note on this passage in his commentary on Juvenal (x. 365).

best expression of the nature of the Roman worship of Fortune. The ode ends with an aspiration that civil discord may cease, and that Fortune will shape for them new weapons with which to make war on the Massagetans and Arabs. On this Professor Francis William Newman, who assigns the ode to the summer of B.C. 26, remarks: "By his twofold projects against Britain and Arabia Augustus seemed to Horace in danger of provoking Nemesis to his destruction; which suggested this beautiful ode of deprecation to the goddess Fortune. The sentiments exhibit the highest effort of the poet's mind in the direction of a Divine Providence superintending nations. History seemed rather to testify against it, as the arguments in Cicero (on the nature of the gods) show; and no higher faith as to the final prevalence of Right had been attained by the Romans. Their 'Fortune' is an inscrutable power, closely allied to Fate. So long as the moralists embraced in their estimate only a part of the human race, and counted barbarians as evil beasts, no intelligent conception of the Divine purpose was possible. The final aspiration of this ode explains the incurable darkness of the noblest Roman minds."

This may help us to understand what was in the mind of this soldier who so many ages ago raised an altar in Roman Manchester to Fortune the Preserver.

UNIV. OF MICH.

UNIV. OF MICH.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MANCHESTER.

BY C. ROEDER.

THERE are few cities in England which can vie with Lancashire's metropolis in its venerable historical continuity and industrial evolution. Prehistoric relics are scattered over the neighbourhood, and our thoughts revert to the remote ages when the stone and bronze-using people had made their gradual way to the banks and valleys of the Irk, Medlock, and Irwell and tributaries.

Neolithic implements, perforated stone hammers, and bronze celts have been found at Kersal Moor, Broughton, Salford, Cheetwood, and Harpurhey. There are, however, two places which pre-eminently attracted the eyes of the early settlers and deserve particular attention: one, the rocky eminence at the confluence of the Medlock and Irwell at Castlefield, the other the bold rock at the junction of the Irk and Irwell. Both command the passage of the rivers, and are situated on an important navigable waterway, the Irwell, which finally flows near Irlam into the Mersey. This river-system had great importance in determining the movements of the original immigrants, who, at various periods, descended on the heights of Manchester from the distant moorland and mountain ranges of both East Lancashire and West Yorkshire, from the latter probably guided by the course of the river Roch, which joins the Irwell at Bury.

That occupation of the elevated rock-plateau at Castlefield and Hunt's Bank took place at a very early period is proved by the flint arrows, scrapers, knives, and perforated stone hammers discovered at sundry times on the surface. These people were hunters and fishermen, who lived in primitive huts and caves in the sandstone rocks which crop out at various points on the Irk and Irwell. At Hunt's Bank, further up at Red Bank, and downwards at Ordsall, the soft red rocks were honeycombed with prehistoric caves and tunnels, similar to those in the rocky river-sides at Stockport and at Nottingham Castle.

No tumuli have been preserved belonging to that period near the Irk, Irwell, and Medlock that could throw light upon the ethnology of the aborigines or give an indication of their domestic life and appearance.

Brythonic Immigration.

The next wave of people who appeared on the ground were a race which differed entirely from their predecessors, men of Celtic or Brythonic origin, who spoke a language akin to Welsh. Undoubted traces of their existence have been left in the hill-dun which they erected on the site now occupied by Chetham College and the Cathedral. I need not enter here into a detailed description of the manner in which they fortified and further strengthened the site, rendering it inaccessible to the attack of enemies, as I have treated that point already in my *Roman Manchester*.

It was defended on the western and northern sides by the steep banks of the Irwell and Irk, and surrounded on the south and east sides by a deep-channelled, palisaded*

*A number of *oaken stakes* were brought up from Hanging Ditch in 1900 at a depth of 22 feet, 10 feet from the arch of the bridge, measuring 4½ to 4½ feet in length and 5 to 9 inches thick, with points 2½ feet long.

ditch, almost impregnable. This formed the chief stronghold from which they directed their operations in times of sudden attack and war. They knew the domestic arts, cultivated the ground, tended their herds of cattle, and chased the wild boar and deer in the dense forests which covered the district. Their houses were probably made of timber, thatched with heather and turf, circular in shape, and with a central hearth. They had granaries, and clusters of small villages probably arose in time along the banks of the Irk, Irwell, Medlock, and Tib, pitched in the clearances made in the woods and thickets, and connected by rude tracks with the hill-dun at Hunt's Bank. More extensive tracks, no doubt, kept up their intercourse with the friendly tribes that dwelt in the plains and uplands of the neighbouring districts. Thus their quiet course may have run centuries before the arrival of the Romans in Manchester.

Roman Occupation of Manchester.

The first feeling of insecurity probably was caused by the rumours which reached them from Deva in 61 A.D., when Suetonius Paulinus began his expedition for the reduction of the Isle of Mona, the grand resource, in the words of Tacitus, from which the British malcontents drew their supplies. It was the asylum of the Druids and the capital of their religious rites. Suetonius attacked this place, destroyed their altars and their sacred groves. It led in the end to a general revolt, which seems to have been only partly quelled.

With the advent of Petilius Cerealis (71–73) a crisis came on. Tacitus says: "He fell with sudden fury on the Brigantes, in point of numbers the most considerable state in the whole province. Various battles were fought

with alternate success and great effusion of blood. At length the greatest part of that extensive country was either subdued or involved in all the calamities of war." Lancashire and Yorkshire formed part of the powerful confederation of the warlike and restless Brigantes, and it must have been at that time that the sylvan solitudes of the Brythonic clans who dwelt on the Irk and Irwell were first disturbed by the clang of Roman arms, and came to blows with the invaders in their hill-dun at Hunt's Bank. It was wrested from the entrenched natives in the onset, and Cerealis, in all probability, built *here* a fort. It must have been small, and can only have been held as an outpost by a small detachment of a few hundred men. The foundations of it are now buried under the Cathedral, and were discovered during the alterations and excavations which were carried out by the architects between 1859 and 1872.* The late John Owen described the Roman foundations as consisting of "rubble and clay, apparently tempered; the rubble and boulder stones of all sizes and shapes were imbedded in the clay, no mortar being used; the old rubble walls going down to the gravel stratum on which they are erected." These foundation walls have been partly traced for 56 feet on the north side and for 75 on the west side of the aisles, and are, altogether, in construction and composition exactly identical with the method employed in building the Roman station situate at the confluence of the Medlock and Irwell at Castlefield, which lies 1,620 yards away from the little fort once in evidence on the site of the present Cathedral.

Cerealis, having reduced the British hill-dun at Manchester, probably went thence *viâ* Old Millgate, Red Bank, Smedley, Blackley, Castleton, Littleborough,

* See Ground Plan of Collegiate Church in my *Roman Manchester* to show position of Roman substructures.

Ilkley, to Isurium (Aldborough), the great stronghold of the Brigantes, but his punitive expedition left no permanent impression, and on his return the Roman fort, erected by him on the Irk, was either subsequently abandoned or fell into the power of the natives. Julius Frontinus, who succeeded, was chiefly occupied with the powerful warlike Silures, and for the rest the Brigantes were left much to themselves and in a position to renew their guerilla warfare. Such was the state of affairs, says Tacitus, when Agricola (78–85 A.D.) arrived about the middle of summer to assume the command: the army was lulled in indolence, as if the campaign was at an end, while the enemy was on the watch to seize the first opportunity. The troops were stationed at different quarters not expecting hostilities during the remainder of the year, but to act upon the defensive; strengthening the weakest station was in the opinion of the officers the most prudent course. We have evidence of his presence at headquarters, at Deva, in the first half of the year 79 from an inscription on some leaden water piping, "when Vespasian and Titus were consuls for the ninth and seventh times respectively, and when Cn. Julius Agricola was proprætor."* He first reduced the rebellious Ordovices in North Wales and the Isle of Mona, next concentrating his attention on his eastern flanks, where he had to deal with the troublesome Segantii and Brigantes. This meant the total conquest of Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire. His plans were carried out in a thorough and systematic manner. He sounded the estuaries and creeks of the Ribble, Wyre, and Lune, explored the woods and forests, and

*See Catalogue of the *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum*, by F. Haverfield. Chester, 1900, page 87 and plates page 127

threw a chain of forts across West Lancashire and North Cheshire. He crossed the Mersey at Stretford into South Lancashire, marched to the banks of the Medlock and Irk, thence pushing his way into Yorkshire across the Pennine chain for an attack on the capital of the Brigantes. Eight years had elapsed since Cerealis first planted his standard at the heights of Hunt's Bank; when Agricola made a victorious entry on that spot he must have found the original small fort in ruins. The area was little suited to the erection of a larger fort both topographically and strategically; the space proving too small for ready expansion on the south and west sides, by the deep ditch, once a gully; the precipitous cliffs standing in the way of easy military movements, and the hillocky ground, formed of a varying depth of sand and gravel, offered obstacles to the construction of good foundation walls, ramparts, and fosses, as required for the outward defences of an extensive stronghold. He did not rebuild the old fort, and after fully exploring the neighbourhood for a site singled out the more suitable and commodious eminence at Castlefield for raising a new strong castrum, on a larger scale. The massive walls, which have stood the wear and tear of eighteen centuries, are a testimony to the solidity and strength of the work of the Roman cohorts. With Agricola the locality underwent complete transformation, and in speaking of the origin of Manchester we may claim the great Agricola as the sponsor who watched at its birth about 80 A.D.

I have so far purposely abstained from alluding to the British name of the place. Although I have dwelt on this subject before in detail in my *Roman Manchester, 1900*, I must go once more over the ground to establish its etymology, and make its meaning still clearer.

Meaning of Mancunium.

The high banks of the Irk valley on which the Brythonic population had spread itself, and traceably so from Red Bank, Scotland Bridge (a British ford of the Irk), along the line of Old Millgate to the confluence at Chetham College, where it terminates in a bold cliff, exhibit a conspicuous outcrop of the New red sandstone. The narrow-channelled Irk, which has worn its way through the soft rock, runs here in a deep gorge. These red rocks continue from Hunt's Bank along the banks of the Irwell to Ordsall, and form the Castlefield plateau.

The character of the locality furnishes the interpreta- of the British name.

First take *Mancunium*, mentioned in Iter X. of the Antonine Itinerary. Its variants are:—

(i.) Ma(n)cocun-ium.
(ii.) —— Coacciun-ium.
(iii.) Mam —— cun-ium.
(iv.) Man —— cun-ium.

At a first glance these variations appear almost impossible of any solution, but on dissection it is easy to show that they are merely due to corruption suffered in the course of ages by scribes and people ignorant of the language. Reduced to the original form, we find that the name consists of two distinct roots, that is, of *maen* = stone, *coch* = red, in their plural form: *Meini-cochion.*

We can follow the various stages of alteration the *Latinised* place-name underwent. Originally it must have been something like the ponderous:

Mān-cocion-ium; compare form (ii.), where the first root *Man* is dropped, and the second root *coacciun* preserved *in toto* in plural form, and reduced in (i.) to *cocun.*

The progress of trituration is exhibited in forms (iii.)

and (iv.), where *cocun* is further shortened to *cun*, thus entirely obscuring the original root; the preservation of the variants (i.) and (ii.) alone enable us to make sense of the Antonine form of Mancunium.

The meaning of the British word is evidently *Redstones*, and simply descriptive of the whole rocky area on which these ancient dwellers lived, as a general term. Part of it at present goes by the name of *Redbanks* and *Redbank Head*. The outcrop of the red rocks near Kersal Moor also bears the name of Great and Little *Redstones*.

For Welsh place-names compare, for instance, *Moel Goch, Craig Coch, Clawdd Coch, Bryn Coch.*

Site of Manucium and Mancunium.

We come now to the name *Mamucium* of the Iter II. and its variant *Man*ucium (or *Man*utium). I will speak of the latter first. It is apparently composed of the roots *maen*=stone and *awch*=edge, and thus would mean *Stone-edge*. This seems to correspond with the actual situation of the British dun at the edge of the rock at Chetham College, surrounded by a rock-cut fosse. Compare also Stanedge and Blackstone Edge and the German Steinach, Hoheneck; the Welsh *Uwch Myndd, Uwch Conway*, and the Latinised *Uxelo-dunum, Ocello-durum*, &c.

The name *Mancunium* is restricted in the Iter X. to the fort at Castlefield, which is *also built on and with sandstone*, being an eminence formed by the New red sandstone. It is connected with Bremetonacum (Ribchester) and Coccium (Wigan) on the one hand and Condate and Mediolanum on the other hand with Mancunium.

Travellers, therefore, coming both from Cheshire and Ribchester would arrive at the *Castlefield station*, a mile away from Hunt's Bank. This road, originally constructed for guarding the estuaries of the Ribble and the

Lune, was replaced in later times (subsequently to the compilation of the Itinerary, which does not mention it) by a more direct road from Hunt's Bank to Ribchester and Lancaster, while the old road from Hunt's Bank to Isurium (Aldborough) was duplicated by a new road made from Castlefield, *viâ* Cambodunum (Slack or Adel), Calcaria (Tadcaster) to Eburacum (York).

It is unlikely that the Castlefield station could have two names, simultaneously known as Mamucium and Mancunium, when we have the clear differentiation of the two names in the Itinerary. The difficulty disappears on the assumption that this old rough Roman roadbook had really *two distinct sites* in view familiar in those times to the ordinary travellers of the local routes. The confusion has arisen in later ages, when all traces were razed and obscured at Hunt's Bank, and the historians were thrown in their evidence upon Castlefield with its massive Roman framework of the Roman fort. They were unaware of the existence of an ancient British hill-dun and the divers foundations of Roman structures buried under the Cathedral and Chetham College.

To cut a Gordian knot, and the to him intolerable names Mamucium and Mancunium, Bradley seriously proposes the substitution of an artificially-coined *Mammium* into our maps of Roman Britain and the total extirpation of the "customary" *Mancunium*. These are his very words, but let us not do any such foolish thing, and abide by the time-honoured names, which have a sterling British ring. There were actually two important roads open to the traveller passing into East Lancashire and distant Yorkshire, from Manchester, of equal use—the *older road* to Aldborough,* on which in past times Cerealis and Agricola went into the territory of the Brigantes of the

* From *Manucium*, or Hunt's Bank.

Pennine range, and *the newer road** constructed by the latter to York. These two important roads, probably connected by a short cut from Garrett to Hunt's Bank, forming a great fork, were part of a greater road system through the two counties, which opened up trading intercourse with the extensive backland stretching to north and east, on which the traveller could either proceed direct to Castlefield or Hunt's Bank. It is clear that *either* site could be meant; a thing, of course, not expected to be specially expressed in the Itinerary.

With the complete pacification of the district, the military importance of Castlefield decreased considerably, and attention was then directed to the defence of the Northern wall. Hunt's Bank, the old quarter of the natives, began to grow in importance, and absorbed much of the work which in former times devolved on Castlefield. A large new road was opened to Ribchester; traces of later constructions are to be found under the west part of the Cathedral in the shape of a big foundation wall, made of pounded brick and lime, instead of the former mere rubble and clay, as in Castlefield. Remains of another building, shown by a large lump of Roman mortar and a tile, and part of a Roman road have been been met with in the depth close to the entry of the library at Chetham College, and coins, glass, and pottery are scattered about at various points of the area. The British were here pressed aside to make more room for Roman necessities, and pushed further down Old Millgate, Ashley Lane, and Red Bank.

Meaning of Mamucium.

I have still to deal with the second variant, Mamucium. It means the *mother edge*, and may have been given by

* From *Mancunium*, in Castlefield.

the natives to designate the *original* centre from which they spread, which the more general name of Manucium = Stone edge, did not express, thereby indicating the chief place of their settlement along the Irk valley, in the sense of the Welsh *mamdref* = chief town or place.

In short, the name of Mancunium refers to Agricola's later fort at Castlefield, and Manucium (Mamucium) to the first fort and British hill-dun at Hunt's Bank, which latter site increased in later Roman times more and more in civic importance.

Bradley's etymological views "On the ancient name of Manchester," as expressed in the *English Historical Review*, 1900, are inadequate. Indeed, Principal Rhys, of Jesus College, writing to me in November, 1901, says: "Mr. Bradley will have to study the name again in the light of the facts you have so successfully brought together."

New Discoveries.

Since I published my *Roman Manchester*, in 1900, additional discoveries have been made. During the excavation in St. Michael's Square, in Ashley Lane, for the new Thirlmere main from Prestwich to Piccadilly, a complete Roman quern was found about five feet below the surface of the soil. It is formed of coarse sandstone, circular in form, with raised sides, with a large lip for the outflow of the crushed grain. It was found in April, 1904; a week later in Angel Street, not far away, a second brass of Constantine the Great (274–337) was turned up; while at Red Bank many years ago a Neo-Celtic urn was dug up—finds which indicate the line of expansion in Brito-Roman times along the slopes of the river Irk at the end of the fourth century. But these few discoveries are overshadowed by the immense quantities of Roman and later coins which were turned up in the old river bed of

the Irk during the extensive excavations made by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company from 1899 to 1901 from about Ducie Bridge to Scotland Bridge, when the river was diverted for a length of about two hundred yards for the purpose of constructing a new platform. Unfortunately I was not present, and I deplore the irreparable loss of the opportunity to enrich our knowledge of the history of Manchester during the course of two thousand years. The Irk, from its confluence at Chetham College to Red Bank, must be considered the receptacle of all the relics, such as coins, pottery, domestic utensils, apparel, sandals, shoes, weapons, &c., which either fell or were thrown into it. We have to recollect that the old road to Aldborough crossed the Irk at the ford or Roman bridge near Scotland Bridge. Here the men found some timber which may refer to the bridge for the passage; a human skull was also brought up, and of coins, I am informed, the number was so enormous that special watches had to be put over the men to prevent them from wasting time in searching. It would also have increased our information about the flora and fauna of Brito-Roman times, in the shape of bones, skulls, and seeds, leaves, and trees which were deposited in the silt and gravel that have accumulated in the centuries. We know not what we have missed! Roman coins and pottery have been found at various times in the bed of the Irwell at Victoria Bridge, the Parsonage, Blackfriars Bridge, and in Quay Street at the river end, dating from 98 to 340 A.D.

During the rebuilding of the Crown Inn, Deansgate, in August, 1904, quantities of pottery, charcoal, iron, and a piece of oaken timber, six feet in length, and a number of coins were found, the latter sold and dispersed by the navvies, amongst them a golden coin, the rest of silver

and copper. The extensive excavations in Deansgate and Quay Street done for the Telegraph stores, the Hospital for Skin Diseases, the Central Buildings, the Onward Buildings, the Royal London Buildings, the Daily Mail and Weekly Dispatch have not yielded any antiquarian results, while at the Royal London Buildings the men say there were seen traces of an old road, which in that case may have been the edge of the original Iter X. from Knot Mill Bridge to Hunt's Bank. Lately a number of Roman coins are said to have been found at Cheetham Hill.

Sites yet to be Explored.

Further important discoveries centre round the playground of Chetham College, practically still a virgin ground; at the timber-yard in Bridgewater Place on the north side of the castrum in Castlefield, where the spade is sure to turn up great treasures; along the still unoccupied Corporation sites at Whitworth Street West, formerly Gaythorn Street and South Junction Street, where many complete Roman urns have been found by me in the old banks of the Medlock in the sand accumulations; round St. Matthew's Church in Liverpool Road, and during any dredgings of the still open part of the Irk channel from the access at Corporation Street to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company to the Grammar School; of the Irwell from New Victoria Bridge to Hulme Hall; in Salford along the north bank of the Irwell to Ordsall Hall, and during any operations at and in the Irk from Scotland Bridge to Red Bank, Ashley Lane, and at occasions of any excavations for new docks at Old Trafford and on the Salford side. There is, therefore, still much work to be done, and further opportunities awaiting us, of which, I trust, members will not fail to avail themselves in the near future.

THE ANCIENT CHURCHES, THE PARSONAGE, ACRES FIELD, AND ACRES FAIR IN MANCHESTER.

BY C. ROEDER.

TO trace the spread of Christianity and the gradual rise of the early churches in our district, especially in Manchester, requires a comparative survey of early ecclesiastical sculptured monuments in Lancashire and Cheshire, material for which is steadily accumulating.

Evidence for Manchester itself is unfortunately at present confined to the solitary fragment of the so-called "Angel-stone," while in the vicinity, at Barton-on-Irwell, a fine interlaced shaft of a cross* has been discovered, a complete cross at Cheadle in 1875,† and further away at Bolton-le-Moors a tolerably perfect cross; but any fruitful speculation on these must be deferred until they can be brought into line. The earliest proselytising efforts appear to have emanated in the 7th century from the old kingdom of Northumbria, thence

*The lace-work in front of the shaft is the same as on the shaft of the top pannel found at Whalley Church, and described in the *Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones*, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. G. F. Browne, Bishop of Bristol. *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. v., plate 3, figure 4, 1887.

†See *East Cheshire*, by J. P. Earwaker, vol. i., pp. 185-6, 1877, where it is engraved. A stone shaft was also found with it.

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radiating over the hundreds of Lonsdale, Amounderness, Blackburn, Leyland, West Derby, and Salford.

The great scarcity of monumental relics is largely due to the radical destruction by Pagan Danes who devastated the country during 830–937.

Our records are blank until 923, when King Edward the Elder sent forces from Thelwall to Manchester to occupy and repair it. It was during his time that the much debated land between the Ribble and the Mersey became detached from the sway of Northumbria and annexed to English Mercia, and incorporated in the diocese of St. Chad at Lichfield.

At the Conquest, in 1066, the Domesday runs: "King Edward the Confessor [1042–1066] held the church of St. Mary and St. Michael in Mamecestre."

I must allude to the various discoveries made on the area enclosed by the angle formed between Deansgate and St. Mary's Gate.

I have prepared a map to show the points where traces of former occupation have been observed.

Ancient Site near St. Ann's Church.

On the present site of St. Ann's an ancient cemetery was exposed in the course of the excavations for the foundations of this church in 1708, which Whitaker* has described:—

> On raising the present church in Acres Square vast quantities of bones were dug up, reposited in their cells, and discovered everywhere as the foundations were carried along, about two yards deep in the ground.

On August 28th, 1900, Mr. Phelps and myself were fortunately present during the excavations at the eastern side of this church, *outside* the original well defined boundaries of its churchyard, which took place along the

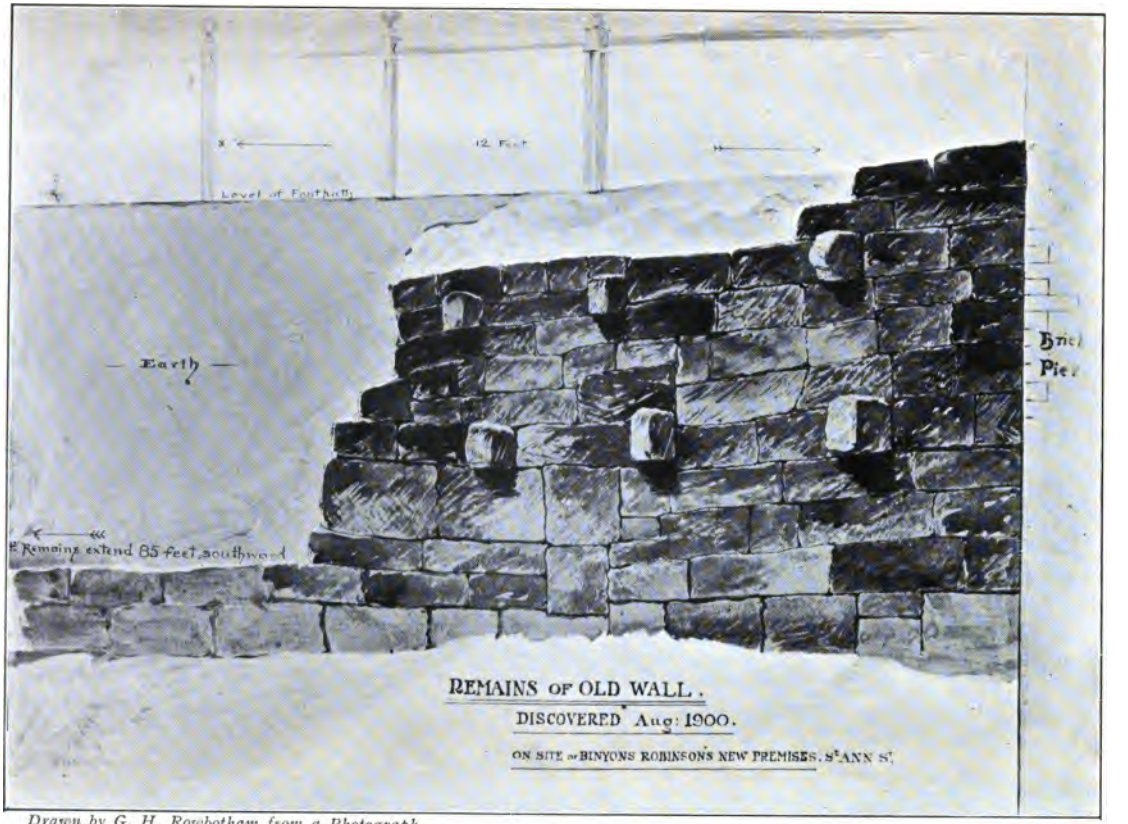
* See *History of Manchester*, vol. ii., p. 413, 1775.

line of the passage now called *St. Ann's Churchyard.* At the angle occupied by Binyons, Robinson, & Co. (SEE PLATE), the contractors came upon old courses of large stones which rested on the underlying gravel. The wall, 3 feet in width and 7 feet deep from the street-level, extended 100 feet in length to the south end of the passage, with a western return. It consisted of rough, irregular, pick-dressed blocks of Collyhurst sandstone, loosely laid, without mortar. Two rows of projecting tie-stones were noticed at intervals, probably placed to strengthen the wall.

A cemetery indicates the neighbourhood of a church, and probably these foundation walls refer to it. Close by and almost in a straight line with it, we have the parson's house, situate on its western side, at the corner of the Parsonage, which probably already existed in Northumbrian times. In the 12th century it was the abode of the rectors, and in the 15th century became the warden's residence.*

The isolated position of this early church, midway between the Roman fort at Castlefield and the Northumbrian stronghold at Hunt's Bank, seems to point to a period of comparative security and peace, probably coinciding with the reign of King Edward of Northumbria, who is said to have been baptised by Paulinus in 627. It is also of interest to note in connection with it that a few Northumbrian sceattas, ranging from 450–600, were dug up not far away to the west, at Campfield. This

* During the excavations on this site (forming No. 72, Deansgate) a fragment of red glazed coarse pottery and the handle of a jug with a rude yellow glaze were found on the 28th March, 1906, by me, 4 to 5 feet below the level of the street, in a greenish, clayey soil, along with bits of burnt coal. Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, refers them to the fifteenth century, but it may be a little earlier, he adds. This is so far the first find of mediæval pottery in Manchester.



Drawn by G. H. Rowbotham from a Photograph.

little church may have lasted until the inroads of the Danes, who arrived about 200 years later.

Site of St. Mary's Church.

Let us cross now to the plot of land occupied by St. Mary's Gate, and bounded on the other sides by Deansgate, Red Lion Street, and Exchange Street, situated in the north-western corner and *outside* the limits of Acres Field (*see map*).

Here a number of discoveries have been noticed: Traces of part of an old cemetery were found "in 1742,* during an excavation at the eastern termination of St. Mary's Gate, on the south side of the street, west of Byrom's Court. The workmen went through 7 or 8 feet, and then came to evident graves."

Again,† on the authority of Mr. Gresswell, "an ancient stone arch had been discovered on the easterly and south side of the present St. Mary's Gate, the remains of which were seen in a wine vault, formerly in the occupation of Mr. Ridings." This stone arch occurs to the south of Cope's Court.

Other rather extensive foundation walls, found about 1894 to the east, in the basement of Messrs. Phelps and Evington's premises, 10 feet below ground-level, were noticed by our member, Mr. J. J. Phelps, but seem to refer to some black-and-white buildings of the 16th century. The stonework is formed of courses of Collyhurst sandstone of different sizes, evidently taken from some former structures.‡

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* See *Hibbert-Ware, Foundations*, vol. iv., p. 5, 1848. The site is inserted on the *Ordnance Survey*, five feet to one mile, 1851.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Mr. Phelps has given his plans, with careful measurements of the stonework, to the Reference Library, King Street. These are worth examination.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, OUTSIDE ACRESFIELD.

We have thus indications of another cemetery on the south-east angle of the area comprised by St. Mary's Gate, and at the same side, towards its more northerly part, remains of a stone arch and some re-used stone blocks, all of which point to the existence of a church, which can only have been St. Mary's of the Domesday, the location of which is still retained in the name of St. Mary's Gate. On examining the plan of 1650, we observe that St. Mary's Gate communicated with the Mercian stronghold at Hunt's Bank by two parallel lines, one issuing direct from it and running straight along Smithy Door and Bank to Deansgate, and the other (along Old Millgate or Meal Gate) leading to Acres Gate, which latter forms the boundary of St. Mary's to the east, the two roads thus enclosing that almost quadrangular piece of the lord's waste on which from time immemorial the market was held, which even in 1552* extended across and over to St. Mary's.† In other words, the market was situate in front, and to the north of the church.

When King Edward the Elder in 923 rebuilt Manchester, he probably found the old church near St. Ann's in ruins, and erected a new one not far away at the south-east corner of St. Mary's Gate, where it continued, until about 300 years later it was translated by the Grelleys to the eminence now occupied by the Cathedral, as we shall see in the sequence.

St. Mary's of the Domesday was probably built in the old manner, with timber and stone foundations for its substructure, and during the following three centuries

* Called in 1552 the *Old* Market Stede.

† In Whitaker's view of Manchester the extent of the market is well shown.

(923 to about 1216) probably underwent further alterations. It can only have been a small church, for "after the Conquest almost a whole century passed before there was much growth of status and condition among the tenants of Manchester and its members calling for notice or deepening the lord's interest in his northern estates."*

Where was St. Michael's Church?

There has been speculation in the past about the site of St. Michael's Church, and recently Mr. Phelps has revived the opinion that it was to be sought in Manchester, attached to the baron's castellum at Hunt's Bank. But Mr. Farrer has stated in various places that in all probability the reference is to St. Michael's Church in Ashton-under-Lyne. In quoting the Domesday reference he says† in King Edward the Confessor's time (1042–1066), "The church of St. Mary (*in Manchester*) and the church of St. Michael (*in Ashton-under-Lyne*) held one teamland in Mamecestre (*that is Manchester including its members*) quit of all custom except Danegeld." This view is fully shared by Professor Tait.‡ "The difficulty," he remarks, "only arose from the assumption that both churches must be looked for in the *township* of Manchester, but feudal Manchester covered a good deal more than the township at a date not very remote from the period when the manor or lordship of Manchester was divided between two parishes. In the 13th century the bulk of it lay in the vast parish of Manchester, but the sub-manor of Ashton-

* The Barony of Grelley, by Wm. Farrer, p. 36, and Testa de Nevill, *Mamecestre*, p. 76, vol. xvii. new series, 1901.

† See "Notes on the Domesday Survey between Ribble and Mersey," by Mr. Farrer, *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. xvi., p. 30, 1898.

‡ *Mediæval Manchester*, by Professor Jas. Tait, p. 7, 1904.

under-Lyne formed a small parish by itself, and Ashton Church was and still is dedicated to St. Michael." No doubt, says Mr. Farrer, the separation of Ashton from Manchester after the Conquest, when Ashton became part of Penwortham fee, was due to some pre-Conquest infeudalism of Ashton, perhaps to a thegn,* whilst Manchester continued to be the demesne of King Edward, then of Nigel, and then of Grelley.

To go a little deeper into the matter. Albert Greslet and Roger de Busli received in 1086 the whole hundred of Blackburn from Roger the Poitevin; when the fief was forfeited, and Count Roger no longer in possession of his Lancashire estates, the two joint grantees resigned Blackburn hundred, and Robert Greslet, Albert's son, doubtless held all Ashton, manor and church, of the barony of Penwortham from the time of Henry I.,† if not even earlier.

Of the two Domesday estates Warin held 2 ploughlands, another Warin 1½ ploughlands, by the gift of Roger the Poitevin. One, says Mr. Farrer, is almost certainly Ashton-under-Lyne, held by Warin Bussel, and under him by Albert Grelley, just as his descendants also held it afterwards of the barony of Penwortham.† It is, therefore, quite possible that in 1086 Ashton was treated as a chapel of Manchester and its glebe involved in the area of the sub-manor. After Domesday, 1066, it is probable that the ½ carucate of Ashton glebe was reckoned in the 2 carucates at which Ashton was rated and in the 2 carucates held by Warin (Bussel) in 1086, and, as Bussel's tenure there is described in the inquest of 1212 as 2 carucates, that seems to

* Private communication from Mr. William Farrer.

† "The Barony of Grelley," by Mr. Farrer, *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, pp. 24, 25, 27, 34, vol. xvii., new series, 1901.

settle the assumption that the glebe was included in the 2 carucates.*

The 1 carucate belonging to St. Mary and St. Michael represents the respective glebes; *the half* belonging to *St. Mary of Manchester*, lying, no doubt, in the *townfields of Manchester township or vill.* We see later from an "assise of darrein presentement,† *temp.* Edward I., 1304, that the chapel or church of Assheton-under-Lyne was annexed and appurtenant to the church of Manchester," and the parson "imparsonu of the church of Manchester." We have, therefore, an almost continuous historical thread to show that St. Michael's Church in Ashton was not only held by the Grelleys, but also was a daughter church of St. Mary's of Manchester.

If, as Mr. Phelps holds, St. Michael in Ashton-under-Lyne was entirely separate and distinct, independent of Manchester, why is it that its advowson should *all at once* have become dependent on Manchester?

Let us approach the question from another point. The first principle in relation to the subject is that in the generality of cases a manor has *one* church, *however large* the manor. Unless it can be proved that there were *two* manors in *Manchester* the case of Mr. Phelps falls to the ground. Moreover, there is no evidence that there ever was any thegn existing in the manor of Manchester in very early times who might have had a separate church, and certainly there was only one manor of Manchester in Domesday Book.* Nor is there any other church in the manor of Manchester ever after

* Private communication from Mr. William Farrer.

† See *Year Book of the Reign of King Edward I., year 32-33*, 1304, pp. 107-8; also *Final Concords*, part iii., Record Society, 1905, vol. l., pp. 33, 63, 92, 93.

mentioned. Why should the name of St. Michael's Church have dropped out of sight and memory altogether *immediately after* its mention in Domesday? We need not go further to show that there *never* was a St. Michael's Church in Manchester itself, and the Domesday reference clearly points to Ashton-under-Lyne for its true situation.

Mr. Phelps's argument rests mainly on his hypothesis of the angel on the so-called "Angel Stone" representing the archangel St. Michael. But the evidence rests on very slight ground. The angel in question holds a scroll saying, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my soul;" while the emblems* of the real St. Michael represent him as an angel in armour, sometimes other angels behind, with a spear or scales weighing the souls, and having the devil at his feet. The words of the inscription can only have been placed in the mouth of the dying. Charlemagne's last dying words were, "Into Thy hands, O Father, I commend my soul." All my friend Mr. Phelps can claim is that he has established the stone to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, falling within the 8th or 9th century, probably derived, I think, from the old and original St. Mary's at St. Mary's Gate, Manchester, but he must not connect it with a St. Michael's Church in *Manchester*.

St. Mary's Church on the Cathedral Site.

In order to understand the evolution of St. Mary's Church we have to dwell for a moment upon the various discoveries made in the present Cathedral of Manchester. Contrary to the common notion of Thomas la Warre

*See "Catalogue of the Emblems of Saints," *Archæological Journal*, March, 1844, pp. 57 and 61.

having built an entirely new church on the Cathedral site in 1422, the very careful and minute investigations of the late Cathedral architect, J. S. Crowther, during the extensive restorations effected between 1882–1892 have conclusively demonstrated the fact that a large and stately church, of the same length as the existing edifice, was already in existence long before his time, which he merely altered and rebuilt in sundry directions to render this structure more worthy of its higher status as a collegiate church. It was preceded by two architecturally distinct styles:—

(I.) One, relating to the middle of the fourteenth century and coinciding with the *curvilinear decorated style* (1315–1360), some striking remains of which are described in detail and illustrated in his work,* and still to be found in the existing fabric. It was not a new structure, and seems to point to some partial restoration and alteration of a previous one, necessitated, perhaps, by serious damage or destruction done to it during the stirring times which include the peasants' rising in Lancashire or the Wycliffian reform movement.

Of the *geometric decorated style* (1245–1315) there is no trace whatever, so we pass at once to:

(II.) The *Early English or lancet style* (1195–1245). He mentions a number of typical examples of that period, dating from about 1220; amongst them particularly the ancient south porch, of which the wall ribs of the groining remain *in situ*; some portions of the diagonal ribs, and a few stones of the jamb of the inner doorway. The greater portion of the porch was taken down previously

* See *Architectural History of the Cathedral Church in Manchester*, by J. S. Crowther, Manchester, 1893, plate 37, and pages 7, 9, 32. I regret he omitted to mark on the ground plan the exact *loci* of the various discoveries, which would have considerably added to its value.

in 1871, and *built in the wall, a little above the level of the ground*, fragment of the carved "Angel stone" was found, besides pieces of ashlar work, worked with an axe, of Saxon workmanship. Numerous axe-dressed ashlar stones have also been discovered in *other* parts, but the evidence, Crowther says, of a *Saxon church*, constructed with stones having formerly existed on the site, appear too scanty to be conclusive.

Of clearly defined *Norman* work *not a single fragment* has been discovered, and he considers it useless to speculate on the *singular* absence of *any* Norman remains. Let me add, further, that not a single shred of Anglo-Saxon or Norman evidence has turned up in the excavations of the churchyard in 1901-2 in the shape of coins, pottery, or other "burial goods," although I closely looked for them.

On the other hand, during the alterations in—

1863. John Owen* found the foundations of the old tower, resting immediately on rubble, boulder stones and boulder clay, and Roman mortar, 7 feet below.

1866. The north aisle,
1867. The east side of the chapter-house,
1872. The chantry piers, west, north, and south,

} All bedded on *rubble foundations similar to those of the Roman fort at Castlefield.*

And Crowther, adding to the information, observes (p. 19):—

"When the columns of the nave were removed in 1882-3 for the purpose of restoration the abacus stones

* See *Roman Manchester*, by C. Roeder, Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. xvii., 1890, pp. 182 and 184; also ground plan and substructure of the Cathedral.

of the capitals to the *Early English columns*, only 5 inches in thickness, had in several cases been utilised as capping stones *of the rubble foundations* of the south range of columns, the result being that from their inadequate strength they were broken to pieces by the enormous superincumbent load."

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is obvious: There *never* existed a Saxon or Norman church *on the Cathedral site*, and the Early English church was laid *directly* on the old foundation walls of the Roman fort which previously existed on the site, and in building the Early English church some of the old material of St. Mary's Church at St. Mary's Gate, such as ashlar stones, the angel stone, &c., &c., had been re-used and incorporated into the new pile raised on the site of the Cathedral when the former was finally relinquished and pulled down.

There is every probability that Robert Greslet II.* (1174–1230) was the original founder of this Early English church.

He was one of the foremost figures amongst the barons of the north in the eventful reigns of Richard I., John, and Henry III., and forms one of the most attractive personages in our Anglo-Norman annals. He was a warrior, statesman, and legislator. Succeeding to the barony in 1194-5, we find him in Rouen and Chinon in 1199; he married the daughter of Henry de Longford, the regent, a prominent member of the baron's party; he bore arms against King John, extorting Magna Charta from him. His *castellum* at Mamecestre was seized in

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*See the *Barony of Grelley*, by Wm. Farrer, Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1901, p. 45; also Tait's *Mediæval Manchester*, pp. 137, 138, and 139.

1216, but restored to him by Henry III. in the following year.

In 1225 he witnessed the re-issue of Magna Charta at Westminster by Henry III., and was appointed one of the justiciars to carry out the perambulation of the forests in Lancashire. He took part in the expedition to Poitou and Guienne, where he contracted a mortal disease, and succumbed to it before December, 1230. He got involved in the quarrels between Pope Innocent III. and the King, and was one of the barons against whom the Pope fulminated and issued in 1215 *sentence of excommunication and interdict, to be published in the church of the Kingdom of England, and solemnly renewed each Sunday and fast-day.*

It is probable that this crushing bull suggested to him the building of a stately church on the prominence of Hunt's Bank as an act of expiation, to soften the papal ire and reconcile the Church, and there still, as a monument of the daring northern baron, it remains, though largely stripped of its grand pristine features, having weathered the storms of seven centuries.

To the original name of St. Mary Thomas la Warre added the patron saints of France and England, St. Denys and St. George, in commemoration of their close participation in the battles of Crecy and Poitiers.

To Robert Greslet II. Manchester owes the establishment of the first fair, the nucleus from which it derived its commercial development and trade.

To sum up the conclusions these enquiries suggest:—

(1) There has been a forgotten primitive church about the site of St. Ann's, in Acresfield, probably in existence from the beginning of the 7th century, until its destruction by the Danes, being the precursor of:

(2) St. Mary's Church, at St. Mary's Gate, built

probably by Edward the Elder in 923, and lasting and in use to about 1216.

(3) St. Mary's at length was translated by Robert Greslet II., about that date, from St. Mary's Gate to the Cathedral site, altered structurally towards the middle of the 14th century, and further enlarged and rebuilt in 1422 by Thomas la Warre, and then converted into a Collegiate Church. From that time onwards it was subjected to numerous enlargements and alterations up to our own times, and markedly so in 1815,* a dark year in its history, when wholesale destructive alterations irretrievably robbed it of most of its daintiest architectural glories.

(4) The site of St. Michael's Church of Domesday must be relegated to St. Michael's Church in Ashton-under-Lyne.

The Parsonage.

Let us revert now to the Parsonage. This venerable glebe is described by Whitaker, in 1775,† as: "The long and triangular piece of ground, that commencing with a broad base behind, and a little to the south of the Parsonage-house, and contracted by the Irwell upon one side and the Deansgate on the other, gradually terminates in a point at the bridge. This is *about six statute acres in extent*, and for the greater part of it denominated the Parsonage to this day, in the appellations of Parsonage-croft, Parsonage-lane, and Parsonage-bank, and except one or two intermediate spots, which have been alienated, the whole is the property of the church at present."

* See Crowther, *idem*, p. 4, &c., for a full account of these wanton destructions, which he so deeply laments.

† See *History of Manchester*, vol. ii., pp. 433-4.

The area of the glebe land seems, however, to have shrunk in extent, probably by previous alienations, for in 1422 the charter of foundation of the college and Collegiate Church of Thomas le Warre gave them:—

8½ acres of land and 13 perches, lying in Nether Aldeport.

In 1473, the wardens of the church held, in addition, one park, called Nether Aldeport, for which they paid a rental of £2. 13s. 4d. to the lord (*Mamecestre*, p. 502). It extended, probably, from Quay Street to about Lower King Street.

Other endowments are described in the survey of 1320 (*Mamecestre*, p. 295):—

"That church is endowed with one messuage, with the rectory, 8 burgages in Mancester, and all the *villata* of Newton and Curmesholme (Kirkmanshulme), with meadow, wood, and pasture, and other appurtenances. There is also the advowson of the church of Asheton under the Lime, of the presentation of the lord, to which the Lord John le Warre last presented, and that church is endowed."

Mr. Farrer thinks that the early grant of Albert Gredle (between 1154–1162) of 4 oxgangs of land to the church of Mamecestre in alms of the demesne refers *also* to Kirkmanshulme, which is in the *manor* of Manchester but not in the township.*

Whitaker† makes further interesting allusions to the Parsonage. He says: "The rectorial house and gardens lay near the course of the old and then forgotten road to Ribchester and on the western side of the present Deansgate. The original mansion was lately inhabited by the

* Private communication.

† See *The History of Manchester*, vol. ii., p. 406-8, 1775.

Rev. Robert Oldfield,* and this building in all probability was the *Parsonage-house* itself at a more recent period of time. The present house of the warden, which is immediately adjoining to it on the *south*, was allotted him since the Restoration only, and is not constructed in the rude, old, and magnificent style of the other. This, indeed, is modelled in a manner of which we have not one specimen besides in the town. A chamber comes over the entrance, projecting into the street, and supported by pillars of wood at the angles. A hatch-door opens under it into a narrow room that has only one window at the end and no fireplace, the hall or portico of the dignified structure. And this leads into a contracted court, which is lined with the buildings of the house upon three sides, and according to the unvarying economy of such houses was lined formerly with them on all four. The edifice, therefore, once extended its front along the street, some yards to the north of its present termination. And the hatch-door, the overhanging chamber, the portico, and the court were exactly or nearly in the centre of the whole. Some of the rooms within are ornamented to the present period (1775), in the style of magnificence that was universally adopted by the higher rank of gentlemen, 300 or 400 years ago, with embossed and figured stucco on the walls. And the general aspect and architecture of the whole robbed, as it is now, of one half of its original extent, and frequently altered, as it has been, by the modernising hand of improvements, still carries an appearance of considerable antiquity with it. The great rise in the plane of the street, which has gained considerably on the windows of the parlour and

* See also *Owen's MSS.*, vol. xv., *Cathedral leases*. He is styled clerk at Stretford and died 1777. He held above "messuage and garden" in 1770 and paid 34s. rent.

now lies near 2 feet above its level, carries the same appearance even more strongly. And both of them refer the date of the building to the 14th century at least, when the rector, not exalted into a warden, resided certainly in the Deansgate."

It is surprising that the old Parsonage and the rectory, viz., two of our most ancient ecclesiastical structures, have been entirely ignored by all local antiquaries, both past and present. Although easily accessible there is not in existence a single sketch or drawing of their inner and outer arrangements to which we could refer for an idea of their former aspect. The old Parsonage was pulled down in my presence in December, 1897, to make room for the *Deansgate Arcade.* It was discovered that, as surmised by Whitaker, the Parsonage was actually built at its eastern side, upon the course of the Roman road that issued from the Roman fort in Castlefield to Hunt's Bank, details of which I described at the time.

The Roman road rested on the river gravels, and the foundation walls of the Parsonage rose immediately upon this bed. They were formed of big blocks of Collyhurst sandstone, altogether of various size, without mortar or bonding or proper coursing, probably procured and re-used from the Roman ruins in Castlefield. The oaken beam work and gables were so tightly knitted together as to cause the contractors infinite trouble. No stone was used for the superstructures, which were erected directly on the foundation walls, and all the inter-spaces were filled out with "daub and wattle." Apparently the ancient Parsonage reached to the adjoining building, then occupied by Mr. Phillips, picture dealer. A deep well was discovered in the court. The building was "bounded*

* Procter's *Manchester Streets*, p. 206.

on the east part by the *old Parsonage ditch*;" it is indeed not unlikely that at an early period it may have been ditched all round for protection. It had a large garden at the back, and extended, the same as the later constructed warden house built when the former became too small for the residence of the better endowed wardens, 58 yards in length on the north and south, and 17 yards in breadth on the west and east side.

The Parsonage-house itself is alluded to again in 1634* in connection with the *Ladie load* ("a footwaye leading from the same unto the Irwill unto a parcell of ground called Ladie loade"), and again in 1661, during the celebrations of the coronation of Charles II.†—"we dined," says Henry Newcome, "at Mr. Halliwell's (tavern) and after were in the Parsonage, and at Mr. Greene's (tavern)."

The *Warden's House*‡ is still in existence, and at present tenanted by Messrs. Armstrong, the opticians. Procter writes in 1880: "It had some good carved work in the upper rooms, and some stained glass with coats of arms in the lower windows. The wine cellar is hewn out of the solid rock. The entrance was by a passage which led into a courtyard, beyond which stretched gardens and orchards down to the river. The windows overlooking the courtyard were bays below and oriels above." The stained glass is still in evidence; the north view of the warden's house was well to be seen during the demolition of the Parsonage, and a drawing was made by Mr. Phelps for preservation in the Reference Library. The arched bay windows of the parlour of the Parsonage, which in Whitaker's time were already two feet below the street-level and much deeper in 1896, were laid bare during the

* See *Court Leet Records*, vol. iii., p. 216. † *Ibid*, vol. iv., p. 285.
‡ See *By-gone Manchester*, by Procter, p. 384, 1880.

excavations, but, unfortunately, no drawings or photographs were taken.

Near the bottom of the north wall of the warden's house an *inscribed stone* was found built in among the big stone blocks, of which I had a photograph taken. It is still undeciphered and built in again. Our Society could have then easily secured it for the projected town museum.

Acres Field.

We consider next the plot of land called Acres Field. It is bounded on the north by Red Lion Street and Bank Street, on the west by Bank Square and Police Street, on the south by Back King Street, and on the east by Cross and Red Cross Street, and is about 6½ statute acres in extent. At the south-east corner, a boundary cross, possibly of red sandstone, was probably erected. Towards the middle of the western side, at Pool Fold, was the pool which from early times served for the tumbrel, and somewhere about, it is held, stood the gallows.

It had an entrance at the north side, called *Acres Gate*, while on the south it was approached by the passage now called *The Old Exchange*. It was the most convenient piece of land for the holding of the fair which Robert Grelley established in the beginning of the 13th century.

Acres Field was then common pasture and ploughland, just the same as Six Acres, Dolefield, Ridgefield, and Spinning Field.

It was pleasantly surrounded on the Deansgate side, at Alport, in 1322, and much more so in Robert Grelley's time, by a fine stretch of moor and heatherland, "30 acres in extent, a wood 1 mile in circuit," "with oaks and the like," 20 acres of pasture and 2 acres of meadow

land,* and traces of the ancient heath have recently been found at John Dalton and Cross Streets.†

It was bounded on all sides by a close hedge and water ditch, fed by some small rills from the more elevated ground to the east.

Acres Field, once the consecrated site of a church and cemetery in early Northumbrian times, remained the traditional common property of the burgesses, who in consequence claimed access to it by prescriptive right, and enforced their claims to it, except during the time of the fair. Hence those perpetual riots until its removal.

When Grelley removed St. Mary's Church (about 1216) to the Cathedral site, he left untouched the fringe on which it stood, being consecrated ground, and this, no doubt, is the reason why Acres Fair was fixed *outside* the boundaries of St. Mary's Church and cemetery in 1222, and established higher up, in the middle of the large area which once comprised the Nether and Over Acres.

Acres Fair.

Robert Grelley, as already stated, made application for the royal grant of this fair in 1222, during the nonage of Henry III. It was temporarily accorded to him, and the baron gave to the king one palfrey for tenure until Henry's full age, at his manor of Mamecestre, during two days, on the eve of St. Matthew the Apostle and on the day of the same St. Matthew (*i.e.*, 21st September). In 1227 the charter was renewed, and it confirmed that "he and his heirs may have for ever one fair at his manor yearly, during three days, on the eve and on the day and on the morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle, well and in

* *Mamecestre*, pp. 382, 386, 389.

† *Manchester City News*, 5th November, 1904, see my note in "Notes and Queries."

peace, freely, quietly, and honourably, with all liberties and free customs to this kind of fair appertaining." Probably fairs had been held from time immemorial on the site on the dedication day of the old church, which had perished.

Fairs and markets were originally created for the regulation of internal traffic and to save traders the trouble of moving from place to place, and for greater security of person and goods. The annual fair took place after the harvest, when money was abundantly flowing in, and the revenues benefited the inhabitants no less than the lord, who levied his tolls for stallage, pesage, &c. It was opened with imposing ceremony, and any fighting or brawling during the time of the fair was sternly punished. We read in 1566*:—

"All the burgeses within Manchester shall fynde everey of them an able mane or serve himselffe well furneshed for that purpas with byll [an axe with a long convex blade], hobarde, or other wepone to wayte uppone the stuerde uppone the fayre day & this to contynewe from tyme to tyme subpena."

Again, in 1568†:—

"We order that ffrom hensfurthe every person being appointed to watch shall bringe with him a jacke [a stout leather jacket] a sallet [an iron skull cap] and a bill at the least, and the constable for the tyme beinge shall admyt none except thaye be so providet under the payne of vi^{s} viii^{d}."

This old custom extended to recent time, but much softened down, and in 1804‡:—

"The steward of the lord of the manor (accompanied in procession by the Boroughreeve and Constables and a few persons who represent burgesses who owed suit to

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Court Leet Records, vol. i., p. 100. †*Ibid*, p. 123.
‡*Manchester Guide*, by Aston, pages 262, 263, 1804.

the court of the lord) proclaimed the right of the Lord of the Manor to hold the fair in that place."

The site of the fair in Acres Field, as mentioned before, did not constitute the lord's waste; attempts to claim it as such seem to have been made from time to time, but were repelled by the opposing burgesses.

Whitaker in 1775 says:—

"The lessee of the lord, even within the memory of the present generation, was obliged to carry away his corn before the day of the fair, or the people were at liberty to enter the field, and to trample it under their feet."

Again Hibbert-Ware*:—

"A very ancient custom prevailed for the inhabitants to assemble long before daybreak upon the first day of the fair, armed with whips and acorns, *to protest against the intrusion of the lord*, cracking their whips and pelting with acorns the first cow, sheep, pig, or horse which entered the arena of the fair with shouts of 'first cow,' &c."

It was called "*The Field*," in 1661, during the celebration on it of the coronation of Charles II. And, to go back to much older records, the Court Leet Records† note in 1586:—

"The saide Jurye does presente that ye Nether (lower) Acres and Over (higher) Acres have lyen open to the street from such tyme as corne has bene gotten till the ffeaste day of the purification of the blessed Marye (February 2nd) in the tyme of the memorye of dy'use of this Jurye untill of late years."

In 1587‡ again:—

"The Jurye dothe order that Whereas at the last

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* *The Ancient Parish Church of Manchester*, vol. iv., p. 41, 1848, by Hibbert-Ware.

† *Court Leet Records*, vol. ii., 6th October, 1586, page 7.

‡ *Ibid*, vol. ii., 20th April, 1587, page 11.

Courte a presentment was made that the Over acres and Nether acres have been usually kepte open for the gettinge in of the corne till Candlemass (February 2nd) nexte after to the greate easements of Dyverse poore inhabitants We doe thereffore crave ye same may be used as yt hathe been accustomed *till nowe of late yeares* as yt is well knowne to dyverse of this Jurye & other inhabitants of this Towne."

We notice on the map that Acres Field, according to Whitaker, 6½ statute acres in compass, had on its southern and central part a passage leading from Back King Street, across King Street, in a straight line to St. Ann's Church on its south side, called the *Old Exchange.*

There cannot be any doubt that this formed, when open land, the south entrance to the fair held at Acres Field.

Attempts were made to stop the public from using this access in the 18th century. They had certainly the right of the road, and interference with the privilege was energetically repelled by the people. The attempt of the owners to close it led to tumultuous riots, and at last, although lawyers had been consulted, the strife ended in the owners' defeat. Light is thrown on this episode by the *Constable's Accounts.** We learn:—

1767.

Oct. 12. Paid two men watching 130 nights at 6 pence each man per night at the Exchange in King Street the road being rendered dangerous and the steps pul'd up by persons claiming a right thereto £6 10 0

Nov. 4. To Thos. Geldor, oil for the lamp at the Old Exchange in King

* *Constable's Accounts*, see vol. iii., pp. 169, 172, 173, 237.

	Street 13/9, lighting 6/6, the steps being pulled down there by Persons claiming a right thereto - - - - - -	1	0	3
Nov. 9.	To John Stock Brown's bill of work done at the Exchange in King Street - - - - -	2	17	4
1772.				
Oct. 12.	To Mr. Tunnadine, an Attorney at Law, for his trouble of perusing, copying, and seeing deeds executed to preserve a foot road or passage from St. Ann's Church through the Exchange to King (Street) - - - - - -	5	5	0

In a footnote* Earwaker says:—

"This King Street Exchange is mentioned in the will of Henry Booth, of Houghton, Gent., dated 23rd January, 1741-2, in which he states he is seized in fee simple of 'one moiety of a building in King Street called the Exchange, which lies open and is used as a footway or passage for all persons passing and re-passing for King Street and the new church in Manchester, with a chamber or room over the said way or passage, now used for an assembly room, and a cellar under the same.'"

Probably in early times there was a small Exchange placed on the southern side for the use of merchants and money changers who flocked to the annual fair, for the better transaction of their business; hence the survival of "The Old Exchange" in name, although the meaning be forgotten.

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* *Constable's Accounts*, vol. iii., 1767, pp. 169, 170.

In 1653 mention is made in an account of Alexander Green, owner of the Eagle and Child tavern at St. Mary's Gate (near Acres Gate, the north entrance to Acres Field), of the "*New* Exchang,"* of which records, however, remain silent.

Later on, by narrow Toll Lane, the cattle were driven into the fair from Deansgate.

In the middle of the seventeenth century we find the "Acres" owned by Michael Dickinson, Richard Radcliffe, and principally by William Baguley,† of Kearsley (died 1725). Acres Field by that time had become a white elephant to Baguley. The ditch which surrounded it proved a constant nuisance; the soil was so trodden at the fair, and the field so easily entered at other times as a place of exercise also, that he could neither occupy it himself nor let it with any prospect of advantage.‡ He was at last advised to give land for a church at the upper end and sell the rest for building, reserving the area of the square for the lord's yearly fair. The Act of July 8th, 1708,§ recites:—

"That William Baguley of Kearsley was willing to give 60 yards in length and 50 yards in breadth about the middle of the south side of the said close, called Acres Field, wherein a fair is yearly held, belonging to the manor of Manchester, called Acres Fair, on which a churchyard was to be enclosed and a church built." This church—St. Ann's—was consecrated on July 12th, 1712. The fair, becoming more and more

* See *Life of Humphrey Chetham*, Chetham Society, vol. ii., 1903, p. 299.

† See *Court Leet Records*, vol. iv., pp. 8-9, 1647. William Baguley, of Kearsley, his ancestor, is mentioned in the *Court Leet Records* in 1572 (vol. i., p. 152 n.). He was a Manchester clothier, and had a house and garden in Deansgate.

‡ See *A Description of Manchester*, by James Ogden, 1788.

§ See *Court Leet Records*, vol. ii., p. 7, footnote.

intolerable to the townspeople in consequence of the disorders, was transferred to Campfield, and the present fashionable square is all that remains of Robert Grelley's fair, granted to "him and his heirs for ever at his manor of Mamecestre."

APPENDIX.

TOLLS, 1320.

The Customs of Toll, 1320, Harland's *Mamecestre*, p. 317:—

Every *horse, mare, ox, cow, bull calf, cow calf, swine, leather* to the value of 4½d. and not much more, not to mention *sheep, wether*, or *other two-years old*, of which, with the issues, *goats, kids*, if sold for 4½d. or more.

Of *whatever pesage* of cloth exceeds 4½d.

A *hive of bees, honey, wax* sold, of the buyer ½d. and of the seller ½d.

For every man's load of *geese, capons, cocks, hens, and eggs*, or of *whatsoever corn or grain*, of the buyer ½d. and of the seller ½d.

Of every horseload of *corn, bread, flour*, of ev. *kind of fish* except salmon, *herring*, and that kind or (ev. horseload of cloth) of the buyer 1d. and of the seller 1d.

For ev. *salmon* sold, of the seller ½d.

For every cut piece of *linen cloth*, of the buyer ½d. of the seller ½d.

Of every load of *garlic, onions, cheese, coals*, of the buyer 1d. and of the seller 1d.

For every horseload of *bakestones*, of the seller ½d., and of everything of the like kind as much of the seller.

For a horseload of the like quantity of *jars and jugs*, of the seller as much as of the buyer.

For every horseload of things *not named*, or every load of the things sold *within the shops* or *sheds* (seldas) of *the lord*, of the seller ½d., and *without* (or outside) *the shops*, as much of the seller.

For a load of *spices*, within the lord's shops, of the seller ½d.

For every load of *black iron or the like*, sold, of the buyer 1d.

And in this toll is taken of *all* persons:

Except the burgesses of the lord dwelling within the borough.

And of others who are made rulers, and by honour claim to depart free.

And this toll is to be doubled in all things there bought and sold, in the markets or the fairs.

AGRIMENSORIAL REMAINS ROUND MANCHESTER.

BY H. T. CROFTON.

AN attempt is here made to read a chapter of history out of maps which are, so to say, the only written record of facts the possible significance of which has been neglected. It is an attempt to show that we have amongst us to this day a considerable number of land divisions which originated in Roman times. When it is borne in mind that all human institutions are based on a reason at one time existing, and that the habits of those who have to do with the land are ultra-conservative,* the probability is great that relics of the Roman land organisation should survive amongst our artificial township and other land divisions.

It is unnecessary here to cite proofs of the fact that on the advent of the Romans the population of Britain was large, so large that the Roman army was recruited from it, and a large army was stationed in Britain to keep the teeming tribes in order. These natives possessed an Aryan civilisation with a tribal organisation, and the people were grouped in village communities.

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*Moreover, boundaries were sacred, "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark." The agrimensor Vegoia wrote: *Qui contigerit moveritque possessionem promovendo suam, alterius minuendo, et hoc scelus damnabitur à Diis* (Goesius, *Rei Agrariæ Auctores*, p. 258). The continuity of history should also be taken into account in weighing the probabilities of a survival.

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A knowledge must be assumed of such able works as Seebohm's *English Village Community* and Coote's *Romans of Britain*, which marshal the facts and formulate conclusions. For this part of Lancashire Whitaker's speculative history is now controlled by the reliable records given by Harland's *Mamecestre* and Booker's *Histories* (Chet. Soc.), by Mr. C. Roeder for *Roman Manchester*, and by Professor Tait as regards *Mediæval Manchester*, with the advantage of Mr. Farrer's invaluable contributions, namely *Between Ribble and Mersey* (Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. xvi.), *Lancashire Fines* (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, vols. 39, 46), and *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Charters*, 1902, and still more important aid will be afforded by the forthcoming *Victoria History of Lancashire*, from the manuscript of which, as prepared by Mr. Farrer and Mr. Brownbill, I have been kindly allowed to make several additions as well as corrections.

The inquiry will be confined as far as possible to the ancient parish of Manchester, which (with its offshoot of Ashton-under-Lyne) occupies the extreme south-east corner of the county. In the absence of written records it is only reasonable to draw and accept inferences from facts, and the facts are as follow :—

First, that the Romans deemed Britain worth conquering and holding, and that Roman York, an imperial city, was only sixty-three miles north-east of Manchester and was capital of the province called Maxima Cæsariensis (within which Manchester lay), as well as capital of Roman Britain, while Chester, only thirty-eight miles south-west of Manchester, was a Roman city of great importance, and these two great centres, York and Chester, were linked together by a military road passing by Manchester, which was thus in full touch with both.

Secondly, that the Romans carefully surveyed the whole

of their empire, regarding the land as an imperial possession, parts of which were from time to time granted out to individuals, but the whole of which must contribute to the imperial exchequer, so that for taxation purposes the empire, including Britain, was elaborately divided and subdivided. Britain was constituted by itself one of the nine specially organised taxation provinces of the whole Roman Empire. This incident is an all important factor in this inquiry.*

Thirdly, that the Roman rule lasted for several centuries and Roman institutions became firmly rooted; and even after the Roman troops were withdrawn in A.D. 406 Britain remained part of the empire and the Romanised Britons never threw off their allegiance, although in 410 they were left free to defend themselves as best they might.

Fourthly, that the Teutonic successors of the Romans usurped the government, but there is no proof that they totally obliterated the Roman civilisation and organisation of their subjects. On the contrary, so far as records exist, it is clear that the inhabitants continued to follow the lines to which they had been then for centuries accustomed.†

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* A fragmentary sepulchral inscription found at Foligno in Italy records a *Censitor Brittonum Anauion* . . . , or census officer of the Britons of *Nauio*, that is of Brough, near Hope, on the *Noe*, in Derbyshire (*Melandra Castle*, 1906, pp. 16, 17). The Roman census was the registering and rating of citizens and their property, and not a mere enumeration of the population. The censitor was an officer of the Census Department, and the word was sometimes applied to agrimensors. Hope is in the heart of the Derbyshire mountains about thirty miles south-east from Manchester, and was in communication by Roman roads with Buxton on the west and Glossop on the north. The inscription is eloquent of the thoroughness of the Roman taxation system prevalent throughout England.

† Salvian (A.D. 450–490) describes in *De Gubernatione Dei* how Roman freemen used to surrender their possessions to great men [amongst the Romans, is understood] and became their tributaries, in order to escape the exactions of the [Roman] officers who collected the *Tributum*. In districts conquered by Franks and Goths there was, he states, no such oppression, and *the Romans in those districts had their rights respected* (Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 307). There is every probability that a similar state of affairs prevailed in Britain.

These indubitable facts favour the theory that round Manchester there was a Roman division of the land.* Moreover, ancient grants show that they were of estates which were evidently then well-known traditional entities,† and the boundaries of which when stated can be generally identified more or less clearly with present day boundaries. When Wulfric, the king's thegn, in 1002, devised by will eighty estates in various parts of England he wrote: "And I give Alfhelm and Wulfage those lands betwixt Ribbel and Merse and on Wirral, so that they divide them that they may be most even" (Kemble, *Codex Diplomat. Ævi Saxonici*, vol. vi., p. 147). The lands and their boundaries were evidently well known, and the will did not require an exact subdivision, but only such an allotment that the estates which made up one share would

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* In Helsby's edition of Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. ii., p. 544, it is noted that according to Mr. Black, F.S.A., assistant keeper of the Public Records, "there is or was, or ought to be, in or near the village of Willaston, in the Wirrall Hundred, a stone necessarily (by measures) *forming part of the geometrical system of Roman topographical engineering in Cheshire.* It would be in the midst of Wirral Forest, and so might easily have been called the Wirral Stone" (whence "Willa-ston"). He continues: "The long unknown stone which gave name to the great hundred of Ossul-stone, co. Middlesex, has been found and identified *by the same process of geometrical analysis of the County*" (*Report on foreshore rights*, September 15th, 1868, and *op. cit.* vol. ii., p. 450 note d). Mr. Brownbill informs me that Mr. Black believed that the boundaries of the Wirral townships, which are (comparatively) rectangular, were of Roman origin.

Mr. Coote too states that, "*in setting out the lines of each Territorium*, the imperial commissioners followed those only which the land of a tribe took, because the government knew that it was politic, as well as humane, still to keep together as *coloni* in the new district those who had lived under their barbarian ties in the old one. The irregular lines of the tribe-land became perpetuated in the outline of the territory and are still seen in our shires. Cities were named from the tribes which lived round them, and it would seem to follow, as a sequence of logic, that the territories of those cities represented the land of those tribes" (*Romans of Britain*, p. 132 and note).

† Seebohm (*English Village Community*, p. 418) says: The Roman provincial *villa* remained the typical form of estate. Whenever estates were granted to the Church or to thanes they were handed over as existing manors with their own immemorial customs and services.

be most even with those making up the other. "In the Anglo-Saxon deed the vendor granted the estate by the name under which it was commonly known and never attempted a description in the body of the deed. These 'particulars' were always appended to it. This is a Roman survival" (Coote, *Romans of Britain*, pp. 271-2).

Both Mr. Coote and Mr. Seebohm have shown abundantly that the Latin *villa* (a farm) is represented by the Anglo-Saxon *ton* and *ham*, and that the Latin *vicus* (a hamlet) is the same as the Anglo-Saxon *wick* (cf. Bailiwick, Bere-wick, Constable-wick); indeed, villa, vill, villata, ham, ton, town, and township are generally recognised as synonymous. Within or around the old Manchester parish there are many place-names ending in ton: Alkring-ton, Ash-ton (two), Bar-ton, Brough-ton, Chorl-ton (two), Chadder-ton, Clay-ton, Clif-ton, Denton, Dumpling-ton, Flix-ton, Gor-ton, Haugh-ton (two), Hea-ton (two), Middle-ton, Mon-ton, Mos-ton, New-ton, Pendle-ton, Roy-ton, Swin-ton, Urms-ton, Win-ton, and Withing-ton. Ham is represented by Cheet-ham, Irwell-ham (now Irlam), Old-ham, New-ham (now New-hall) in Barton, and Hill-ham in Urmston. Vicus or wick is represented by Atherd-wick (now Ardwick), Beck's-wick (now Beswick), Gother's-wick (represented by the field-name Gutter-twigg in Booker's *History of Blackley*, pp. 125-7), Prest-wich, and Whittle's-wick in Barton, all of which are possessory names. Burh (a town) is represented by Ditti's-bury (now Didsbury) and Pendle-bury (next Pendleton), and perhaps by Burgh-ton (now Broughton).

Domesday book, which is a record nearly midway between the times of the Romans and ourselves, shows no trace of any systematic redivision of the land having taken place, but a distinct adoption of long existing boun-

daries. Mr. Farrer, in his account of "Between Ribble and Mersey" (Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian. Society, vol. xvi., p. 2), remarks that "between A.D. 979 and 1016 the greater part of Britain was subjected to Danegeld, and for the purpose of equal assessment the country was at that time surveyed and subdivided, *the* [already existing] *hide and carucate being accepted as the unit of assessment,* but at no period is it likely that the hide or carucate was in any way an exact measure of land. Theoretically the Lancashire hide contained six carucates or teamlands, and every teamland represented the area of *arable* land which a team or gang of eight oxen could annually plough." This selected basis of taxation per ploughland was manifestly quite different to any new division into townships of defined area.

Mr. Farrer at the same time points out that "Between Ribble and Mersey" fell into the hands of the Crown by conquest about 923, and was populated by half-free tenants* called thanes and drenghs whose status was,

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* Mr. Coote (*Romans of Britain*, pp. 273–280) says, "Besides the Roman landlords of Britain there were other persons who had an interest in the soil. These were the *coloni*, once the original natives and lords, but after the Roman conquest compelled to cultivate, as the severalty of others, what had been the common territory of the tribes. Britain was cultivated by those native farmers to whom the Roman state ceded fixity of tenure. The *colonus* was the farmer, paying to his landlord a rent in money, in kind, or in services. He was not a slave, he was styled free, but he was *servus terræ*, and the proprietor of the estate to which he was ascribed was called his *patronus*, who could not separate him from the estate. The *colonus* was sold with the estate, and the estate could not be sold without him. After the barbarian conquests he was called by the general name of *ceorl*. He is the 'man,' or inferior vassal, of the thegn to whose estate he is ascribed." Old records in and round Manchester parish frequently mention this class. See footnotes *post* relating to Urmston, Heaton Norris, and the Conclusion.

Seebohm (*English Village Community*, p. 269) says: "During the later period of Roman rule the Roman *villa*, under its *villicus*, was becoming more and more like a later manor, with a semi-servile community of *coloni* or *tributarii* upon it in addition to the slaves."

with few exceptions, little above that of the villeins. The lord of the district was the king, and so the geld was charged against his great manor houses of West Derby, Warrington, Newton (in Mackerfield), Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland, and the men whose berewicks or sub-manors lay in their lord's greater or capital manor had to bring thither their rent and their contribution to the Danegeld." "This," adds Mr. Farrer (pp. 6, 7), "explains the scantiness and bareness of the details collected by the Domesday Commissioners within this district."

It is clear that the substrata remained unmolested whatever governmental upheavals disturbed the upper crust. The directions to the Domesday Commissioners were to ascertain the name of each vill (not to create and name new divisions) and to record what had been added to or taken away from the place since the time of King Edward the Confessor. It was merely a rate book, and the part relating to "Between Ribble and Mersey" details the number of ploughteams on Count Roger's demesne and upon the demesne of his knights, and particulars, in some instances, of the population upon such demesne lands, "but we are not told in any of the hundreds how many ploughteams or what population there was upon the estates of the thanes or drenghs or of the free tenants of the villeins* upon Count Roger's demesne. This omission has led the county historians to suppose that the area of cultivation and amount of population was much less than it really was" (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14).

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* At Domesday in Yorkshire sixty-three per cent of the population were *villani*, twenty-three per cent *bordarii* or *cotarii* (cottagers), and there were no *servi* (slaves); in Cheshire the *villani* were thirty-four per cent, *bordarii* twenty-seven per cent, and *servi* eight per cent.—Seebohm, *Eng. Vill. Com.*, p. 86).

Mr. Farrer also points out (p. 38) that "this district passed through the Conquest period almost unscathed and with fewer changes of actual ownership than would be generally supposed. *Very many of the descendants of the Saxon and Danish thanes living at the Conquest possessed their ancestral estates for generations after the Conquest.*" The Salford hundred contained two manors in demesne and twenty-one in thanage, which together had 111⅞ ploughteams of eight oxen for 14,580 acres of arable land, or 130 acres* per team. The area of wood was five and a half times as great, viz., 82,500 acres, and the pasture and waste amounted to 128,885 acres, or over eight times the arable area. The hundred contained 225,965 acres. For this huge area Mr. Farrer's careful estimate is only 3,178 inhabitants—men, women, and children—which provides four and a half arable acres per head. This seems a very insufficient estimate of the probable population. If eight oxen could plough 130 acres, it would certainly take more than one householder and his family of five in all to till that area, and although Mr. Farrer multiplies the agriculturists by seven to arrive at the total population, even that does not seem to satisfy the probabilities. A more likely estimate would be a household of five for each of the eight oxen and a ninth household for the plough, that is forty-five persons per plough cultivating 130 arable acres, giving three acres per head, or for the Salford hundred with 112 teams a total *agricultural* population of 5,040, which in turn should be multiplied by seven to give the *total population*, viz., 35,280.

The remarkable richness in place names which is found in the earliest charters points to a large and hungry land-

* In the burh of Penwortham there were two ploughteams to 240 acres—that is, 120 acres per ploughteam.

rooted population, which required and had a name for every streamlet, marsh, spring, hedge, ditch, and even many trees, on account of the keen interest then taken in every inch of land.

Mr. Coote (*op. cit.*, p. 267) remarks that, "according to the 32nd law of King Ine* (*c.* 689) the hide was a distribution of real property which the Wylisc man (Romano-Britain) of his day held in England. The barbarians called it a hide, but it was a distribution of land as Roman as its proprietor."

Professor Tait (*Mediæval Manchester*, pp. 18, 19) says: "In the coincidence of townships with the estates of Anglo-Saxon thegns [who personally stepped into the shoes of former Roman possessors], we may perhaps find a clue to the origin of the subdivisions of the Parish of Manchester, but a certain number of the thirty (former) townships seem to have come into existence [as such] at various dates subsequent to the Norman Conquest."

The late Mr. Robson (Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, v. 203) says: "The whole breadth of the Counties is strewn with the remains of Roman occupation. We may not be far wrong in supposing that the same or equivalent cities, towns, *and manors, as well as roads, were in existence in the third and fourth centuries*, as we find in the maps constructed before the great [turnpike] changes of the last [eighteenth] century." He adds: "Mr. Kemble was of opinion that a greater breadth of land was under tillage in the Heptarchy than in the seventeenth century, and that *the population of the fourth century was equal to that of the age of Queen Anne*."

For an account of Lancashire roads before and after the

* He was the Wessex King, whose wife Ethelburga resided at Manchester while he marched against the Welsh, who had laid waste the province of Chester.

turnpike age reference should be made to Mr. Harrison's valuable papers in Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society vols. iv., ix.

Agrimensors, their Instruments and Methods.

It is hardly necessary to explain that the agrimensors were the Roman land surveyors or measurers.* Their instruments and methods are, however, not so well known. They based their work on a line called *Decumanus maximus*, running from east to west.

The equally important meridian line was ascertained by a sort of sundial called *Sciotherum* or *Gnomon*, formed by a stake driven into the ground. With a string attached to the stake a circle was marked, and then the points, where the circle was cut by the shadow of the stake in the morning and evening, were marked off. Between those points a line (*decumanus maximus*) was drawn, with another (*cardo maximus*, or chief hinge) intersecting it at right angles, and passing through the centre of the circle. The latter line was the meridian. Their unit of measurement was the Roman *pes* or foot, which was roughly identical with our own (11·649 English inches). The *passus* or pace was five Roman feet in length. The convenient decimal system was preferred to the duodecimal. Their measuring rod, called *pertica* or perch, was normally ten feet long, but varied in length in different provinces, as the Romans found it convenient to adopt for each country the length to which the inhabitants had been accustomed (Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 389 *n.*).

As land is seldom level they devised an instrument for measuring the horizontal distance up or down slopes,

* See *Agrimensors*, by Reginald Woolley, Fellow of Surveyors' Institute, 1884 (in vol. xvi., pp. 190-230, of that institute's *Transactions*), which digests information derived from many works in various languages.

viz., a *chorobates*, which had a wooden base twenty feet long and at each end an upright board, having a groove down the centre of each upright, and a plumbline hanging in the groove. One end of the chorobates was laid on the ground with the other end pointing down hill, and then the lower end was raised till the plumblines hung in their grooves. From the lower end another plumbline indicated the spot which was at the horizontal distance of twenty feet from the higher end.*

In addition to these they had a kind of theodolite, called a *groma*. This was an iron tripod with an equal armed cross fitted horizontally on the top. The arms intersected each other at right angles, and each was provided with a small upright spike for sighting purposes. From the end of each arm of the crosspiece a plumbline hung, and these lines were all of equal length. The centre of the *groma* was brought exactly over a required spot by a fifth plumbline hanging from the centre of the cross-piece, between the legs of the tripod. With this apparatus and rows of stakes the agrimensors were able to set out parallel lines running north and south or east and west, or slanting parallel lines.

Their maps were called *tabulæ*, but were not drawn to scale and were rather angular, stating the distances from point to point. One such called the Tabula Peutingeriana (known by a parchment copy, twenty-two feet long and one foot broad, made in the thirteenth century) was made about A.D. 379, and (so far as has been preserved)

* The systematic use of this instrument may account for the curious inequality in the length of Roman miles. The Rev. T. Leman, of Chester, observed that "on measuring a space of ground where the country is perfectly level the Roman miles differ little from our own measured ones, but are infinitely longer than ours where the *Iter* passes over a mountainous country, for which reason I cannot help thinking that they calculated the distance between their several stations by *horizontal miles*" (Forbes & Burmeister, *Our Roman Highways*, pp. 95-6).

delineated the southern and eastern portions of Britain. The British portion formed the outside of the copy roll, which was worn away, and the preserved part is given in Forbes and Burmeister's *Our Roman Highways*, 1904, p. 200.

Julius Cæsar ordered a survey of the Roman world. Cæsar Augustus carried it out by Agrippa. Its making occupied seventeen years, and it was complete in B.C. 20. The northern parts were surveyed between B.C. 30 and B.C. 24. Later emperors revised it as fresh countries were annexed.

One of the early governors of Britain (A.D. 69) was a celebrated agrimensor and engineer, named Sextus Julius Frontinus, and there can be little doubt that in his time steps would be taken to make a more or less accurate survey of the country, for which the usual systematic marks would be set up where natural objects did not serve the purpose, but it is very improbable that his survey was extended so far north as Manchester until a somewhat later date.* Some of these survey marks were intended to be recognised as such by the general public, but others were secret, and some were secured from interference by being buried below ground. Treatises have survived which explain these secret signs and underground marks, and many examples of the buried signs have been found throughout Britain.

It is the *artificial* boundaries which possess the greatest interest, as indicating both their distinctly human origin and the system upon which they were based, and the

* Tacitus narrates that it was in the winter of A.D. 79 when Agricola taught the Brigantes of Lancashire and Yorkshire to build houses and temples, "and taught the sons of the chiefs Latin and the liberal sciences, so that they learned the manners, speech and dress of the Romans." The probabilities are that Manchester was one of the minor centres of this movement, and that a Roman garrison was then stationed in the village.

following investigation will deal mostly with them. These artificial boundaries were marked by the agrimensors by mounds, large stones, pits, or ditches. Altars were also set up on boundaries, and were frequently dedicated to Sylvanus. When placed where three boundaries joined these altars were triangular, and many altars so dedicated and shaped have been found in Britain. Other boundary marks were trees and wooden stakes, which were perishable. Stake Leach in Failsworth was part of the old Manchester parish boundary.

Manchester Parish.

When the agrimensors surveyed the district, which was afterwards called Manchester parish, they probably had to deal with a territory already occupied by a Celtic tribe,* and they would readily observe that it was naturally divided or intersected by a number of streams and valleys, running from east to west and roughly parallel with each other. These streams along the north side were the Kersal or Singleton brook and a tributary of the Irk, and part of the Irk. Further south and east ran in succession Moston brook, the Medlock,† Corn brook, Gore brook, and finally along the south the rivers Tame and Mersey.

The tribal territory was also roughly divided up into blocks by streams running from north to south, namely,

* The Celtic weights found at Melandra Castle, near Glossop, corroborate this, and that the Celtic inhabitants of the district had attained a certain degree of civilisation.

† It is a curious fact that a line drawn due north through the Manchester *castrum* on the Medlock to the extreme north of Crumpsall, and prolonged due south to the Mersey at Red Bank, Didsbury, has, midway between those points, at the castrum, a river crossing it known anciently as Mede-lac (now Medlock), which thus seems to mean "the middle-lache" or stream.

the Irwell and Irk and by tributaries of those rivers. Nature had thus largely provided convenient natural boundaries for the territory and subdivisions of it, and the agrimensors would probably adopt, for the purposes of fiscal subdivisions, many of these streams to define exactly first the tribal territory, and next to mark it off into the requisite blocks for taxation and appropriation.* The blocks would vary in size according to the character of the land, the main factor being the portion suitable for cultivation. Long before the Romans came the natives cultivated the land to some extent, but the Romans brought more of it into cultivation. The old native system was, no doubt, improved and regulated. The arable land was kept productive by marling, which Pliny describes as being even then in practice in Britain.

The pre-Roman natives had also a certain amount of bartering trade, and this entailed the formation of tracks linking village to village. From prehistoric times in all probability a village occupied the red sandstone bluff where the rivers Irwell and Irk met and protected the village on the north and west. The inhabitants completed their defences by a crescent-shaped ditch and rampart across the isthmus, following a line which in later days was represented by Toad Lane (now Todd Street) and Hanging Ditch.

From this village five native tracks radiated, (1) from the north-east corner down to a ford over the Irk at or near Scotland Bridge, and then up Red Bank and along the high ground northwards to Prestwich, Radcliffe, and Bury, with an easterly branch at Crumpsal to Middleton and Rochdale; (2) from the east side, up Shudehill to New Cross (formerly Barlow Cross), whence a north-

* The system of boundaries and divisions is described in Coote, *Romans of Britain*, p. 52.

easterly branch followed the high ground across the Newton Heath to Oldham, and a south-easterly branch passed down the line of Great Ancoats Street to the ford over the Medlock at Pinmill Brow, and thence ran due east to Ashton-under-Lyne; (3) from the south-east side a track ran up the line of Market Street to Bank Top, and then south-eastwardly down to a ford over the Medlock, following the line of London Road and Stockport Road to Stockport, with a branch south of the Medlock running through Rusholme and Withington to Didsbury and beyond; (4) from the south side a track crossed the Dene or hollow and followed the line of Deansgate southwards to Stretford and onwards to the Cheshire saltworks; (5) from near the south-west corner a track made its way down the gully which had been worn in the red sandstone bluff by the stream from Shudehill, and then forded the Irwell at Stannycroft to Salford, passing onward to Pendleton, where it branched to Warrington, Wigan, and Bolton. These old unmetalled tracks remained in use during the Roman domination.

They turned aside, however, at every petty obstacle, and would be often unfit for use by troops. The Romans straightened and improved some of them,* and made other purely military roads to secure the prompt and orderly transit of their legions and supplies. For instance, south of Manchester the Romans, who had advanced on Manchester from Chester, replaced the native track through Stretford by one of their great military roads,†

* Ashton Old Road from Pinmill Brow to the parish boundary at Seven Thorns Well was straightened and improved, and so was Stockport Road, which in Heaton Norris was formerly called High Street and Streethouse Lane and Streethouses (see Booker's *Didsbury and Chorlton*, pp. 135, 185).

† Mr. Codrington, C.E., in *Roman Roads in Britain* (2nd ed., 1905, p. 94), surmises that it was directed or "sighted" from near Bucklow Hill, south of Bowdon in Cheshire, towards some point of one thousand three

and from the ford across the Medlock they continued their road north-eastwards through Failsworth to Slack in Yorkshire, and so onwards to York, running parallel with and close to but scorning the native track which now forms Oldham Road.

These new military roads did not start from the old native village, but from the castrum or fortified camp which the Romans constructed a mile south of it on the north bank of the Medlock.

From this castrum a purely military road was made northwards through the village,* and onwards through Strangeways (Strong way) and Broughton to Ribchester on the river Ribble, in preference to the line of native track by Red Bank and Crumpsal to Prestwich. Another military road was made from the castrum to Wigan, and is now approximately represented by Regent Road and Eccles New Road, but it divided at Cross Lane, Salford, whence one branch went (through Weaste, Hope, and Worsley) to Wigan, and the other (through Eccles, Barton, and Cadishead) to Warrington.

These roads have been described, because they appear to have been all utilised to some extent by the

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hundred to one thousand five hundred feet elevation on the moor south-east of Todmorden, about twenty-seven miles distant, and he draws attention to the fact that *it forms a parish boundary* for considerable lengths. He adds (p. 95) that from a slight bend (near the Great Stone) at Stretford it was "sighted" towards high ground of about one thousand feet elevation on Austerlands, which is over twelve miles distant. Mr. Codrington also states (p. 112) that the road to Ribchester, through Strangeways and Broughton, was "sighted" from Hunt's Bank to Bowstock Hill, eight hundred and ninety feet high, which is about ten miles off. He conjectures (p. 33) that the engineers used a smoke signal, and where extreme points were not visible from each other they aligned the roads by alternately shifting intermediate points from which the extreme points were visible until all lay in a straight line.

* The myth started by Whitaker of a road to Rochdale and Blackstone Edge passing through Moston and a variant of it passing through Blackley dies hard. Neither had any foundation in fact.

agrimensors for boundary purposes. The military roads, however, fell into disuse after 406, when the imperial troops were recalled, and the country was speedily resolved into local units,* because these great roads, although they were so well constructed, were not so convenient for local traffic as the old traditional tracks, and so it has come to pass that the military roads to York, Ribchester, and Wigan have almost disappeared from the map.

Space forbids a full examination of the whole extent of the ancient parish township by township, and the facts relating to a few must serve as samples of the whole.

Manchester Township.

Both the native village and Roman castrum were in what is now the Manchester township. Its boundaries are almost entirely natural, namely, the Irk, Irwell, and Medlock. The exceptions are that near the confluence of the Irk with the Irwell the township has an excrescence north of the Irk with an artificial angular boundary,† and higher up the Irk the boundary turns away from the Irk, first east and then south, in a succession of artificial angular bends, to the Moston brook, and after descending that brook for a short distance it turns south-east and then south-west at a rectangle till it meets Newton brook,

* After this date Manchester would more easily keep in touch with Chester than with York, from which the Mancunians were cut off by the "backbone of England."

† This boundary has, where it crosses the Red Bank road, a rectangular bend, on the north side of which, in the adjacent township of Cheetham, lay "the Peel," which is shown in detail on Green's *Map of Manchester*, 1787-94. At that date there was a long narrow pond running north and south for one hundred and thirty-five feet, which apparently formed the west side of the former moat, and two smaller ponds look as if they had been part of the moat on the north side; the road was on the east side, and the township boundary on the south side. The outside dimensions of this quadrangle were seemingly about one hundred and seventy-four feet.

and follows that brook downwards as far as Shooter's brook (formerly Shiter's, *cf.* A.S. *sceadan*, to divide), and runs up that brook for some distance before turning south-east along a direct artificial line to the Medlock.

Returning to the village it is noteworthy that its circular area is divided rectangularly by two street lines, one running north and south as a meridian and called formerly Middlegate (road) and Half Street, and the other east and west called Fennell Street, which is believed to represent the Latin *Venella*, a passage. Middlegate nowadays forms part of Long Millgate, and lost its own distinctive name after 1342, when a Trafford deed (in the Raines MSS. in Chetham Library) described a burgage as lying "in le Middel-gate in vill. de Mamcestr inter burgagium Margarete del Wodehowses et Tode-lone," and "in le Middel-gate juxta Tode-lone." Middlegate is not, however, named in the *Manchester Court Leet Records*, which began in 1552. This quarterly division follows agrimensorial lines.

The appropriation by the villagers of part of the land north of the Irk was very possibly of pre-Roman date, and the agrimensors merely defined it.* The bulk of the land ploughed or cultivated by the villagers lay on the slope of Shudehill, and on the east and west sides of the road now called Deansgate. The burgesses had common rights of pasture after harvest over the land east of Deansgate, which was called "The Ackers" (*cf.* Latin *agri*, fields)† which contained six and a half statute acres,

* Cheetham township adjoined, and was separately held in thanage about 1200, probably representing an old fiscal area or *fundus*.

† The Agrimensor Frontinus (lib. i., p. 2) says *arva publica* (public arable lands) in the provinces were cultivated *more antiquo* (in the old way), in which the *ager* or field was divided and allotted in *strigæ* or strips running north and south and in *scamna* or strips running east and west, but the fields of a *colonia* of Roman soldiers planted in a conquered district were centuriated.

which is the equivalent of ten Roman *jugera*, each of which was two hundred and forty feet long by one hundred and twenty broad, and each contained about five-eighths of an English acre.

In 1422 there was another "Acresfield" in Nether Aldport, near the castrum (*Foundations of Manchester*, iv. 171), and north of Quay Street and west of Deansgate (in other words a little nearer Manchester) was the "Dolefield," made up of doles or strips. "The Acres," it should be noted, lay in the rectangle formed by Deansgate and St. Mary's Gate, the latter being a continuation of Marketstead Lane. The rectangular field is shown on the well-known plan of Manchester and Salford made about 1650.

The castrum neighbourhood has yielded several agrimensorial remains.* To mark the meeting places of boundaries dry wells or pits, called *arcæ finales*, were sunk and filled with a diversity of articles, which were styled the furniture (*instructura*). A landmark of this kind was found a few yards east of the castrum wall and four yards below the field-level, near the Bridgewater Canal. It was a "square well," with four posts at the angles, and closed in with rudely hewn logs five or six inches in diameter, one upon another, and it was floored in the same manner, and a quantity of boulder stones formed its furniture (Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, pp. 108-9). Near the north-east corner of the castrum and about twenty yards from the south-east wall "a grave" was found of a vertical cylindrical form, cut in the rock, about four feet deep, and eighteen inches wide. Its furniture consisted of charred bones (*op. cit.*, p. 120).

* The centurial stones are shown, however, by Mr. Watkin (*Roman Lancashire*, pp. 99, 100) to be mural only, recording lengths of the castrum walling constructed by the various cohorts.

Mr. Roeder (*Roman Manchester Restudied*, p. 108) records that near the castrum, on the site of the Crown Inn in Deansgate, opposite the gate of Castlefield, a third *arca* was found, namely a hole in the rock, about six feet in the square, and filled with rubbish, including three brass coins and a piece of thick gold wire.

Besides pits the agrimensors made boundary mounds called *botontini*,* and Mr. Roeder describes two which he observed near the castrum (*op. cit.*, p. 115).

The tongue of land south-west of the castrum (near the present abattoirs and Regent Road Bridge), between Irwell and Medlock, was called "Hulme Meadow" (Hulme Field on Green's map, 1794), where the inhabitants of the castrum and of its attendant village called Ald-port made their hay and fed their cattle. The military road to Wigan traversed this meadow on its way to a paved ford over the Irwell (near Regent Road Bridge), and Barritt, the antiquarian, gave this ford the fictitious name of "Woden's Ford," which has since been confused with a "Wodarne Ford," which crossed the Irwell several miles higher up, namely from the end of Whit Lane, Pendleton, into Kersal.

Hulme.

South of the castrum and Medlock the agrimensors set out this township with natural boundaries (the Medlock, Irwell, and Corn brook) on all sides except the east, where

* Boundary pits were sometimes constructed inside mounds, and notable examples have been found elsewhere in Lancashire. One was at the junction of the Sankey brook and Dene brook, half a mile south of Newton-in-Makerfield (*Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, xxv. 108). Another was at Warrington, close to the side of the Roman road from Wilderspool to Wigan (Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, pp. 224-5; *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, v. 59). Siculus Flaccus, a well-known agrimensorial writer, remarks that all kinds of boundary marks were used in the same Ager (Goesius, p. 4).

an artificial ditch was cut across the isthmus from the Medlock on the north to a bend of the Corn brook on the south,* near De Quincey's home at the west end of Burlington Street.

The south-east corner of the original area of Hulme has been since appropriated as part of Chorlton-upon-Medlock, and the probable reason of this is that that locality was formerly a wood called Bal-shaw or Withen-shaw (*Vict. Hist.*), in which perhaps the inhabitants of both townships had common rights, and when the timber was cut down the site was allotted to or claimed by the more grasping or tenacious owner of Chorlton.

The Roman military road to Chester passed through Hulme from north-east to south-west, and from the south-east side of that road two lanes (Jackson's Lane and Moss Lane) ran off at right angles with it, and across their southerly ends a third lane, which is shown on a Lloyd's estate plan in 1760, ran, roughly speaking, parallel with the Roman road, and continued eastward through Chorlton-on-Medlock to the Romano-British road now called Stockport Road, which it met at right angles near Ardwick Green, where this cross lane is now called Rusholme Road. The rectangular oblong block enclosed by these four roads—Chester Road, Jackson's Lane, Moss Lane, and the cross lane—was formerly called Broad Hulme,† and the hedge lines within it in 1760 showed that it was at one time divided into four

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* In a deed dated 1334 the westerly boundary of Chorlton was described as "following the ditch [northwards from the Corn brook at Greenheys] between Hulme and Chorlton as far as into the Mede-lac" (*Mamecestre*, ii., 267, Chetham Society, vol. lvi.). Laurent's map in 1793 shows a clough near Feazington Wood, towards the north end of this ditch, and the boundary line ran down the clough.

† Brode hollme is mentioned in a tithe book in 1584 (Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, xxii. 178).

quarters. A deed dated April 13th, 1748, which dealt with the Lloyd estates in Hulme, included "the Broad Hulmes *in four parts.*" The dimensions of the block were from north to south three thousand feet and from east to west fifteen hundred feet. If any land was centuriated round Manchester it would probably lie close to the castrum or in Hulme.

The agrimensors used to divide agricultural land into four quarters, called *centuriæ* (hundreds), each of which contained nominally two hundred *jugeræ*, which were usually allotted to a century (that is, one hundred) of soldier colonists. Each *juger* contained 28,800 Roman feet, or 26,930 English square feet. The acreage of Hulme was practically four hundred and eighty (actually four hundred and seventy-nine); and in 1212 it, or part of it, was assessed as half a ploughland of four oxgangs (Farrer, *Inquests*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, vol. 48, p. 70). This assessment is noteworthy as each oxgang would contain a "long hundred" of one hundred and twenty acres.* At that time Hulme comprised Over Holm and Nar (Nether or Nearer) Holm (*op. cit.*, p. 137). The quadrangular block on the easterly side of Jackson's Lane, opposite Broad Hulme and extending to the township boundary, was about 1660 divided into four approximate quarters, called two Overhulmes, Martinscroft, and Bent (*Mosley Memoranda*, p. 54, Chetham Society, n.s., vol. 47). Each *centuria*† was divided into

* Dolabella wrote *Habent enim agri scamnati in centuriis singulis jugera ducentena quadragena, qui per longitudinem habent actus xx, et per latitudinem actus xxiiii* (Goesius, p. 300). A juger was five-eighths of an English statute acre. The Lancashire and Cheshire acres were very much larger than the statute acre. These differences in size complicate the present inquiry.

† The *centuria* was also the measure of land upon which a provincial Roman family could be efficiently and adequately maintained. The word was thus finally superseded by that of *familia* in the common parlance of

strips eight feet wide, and every fifth strip was twelve feet wide, for use as a public way or for occupation purposes. The intersecting points of the strips were marked by centurial stones* inscribed on an elaborate system, and examples have been found in many parts of Britain, but seemingly not near Manchester, where the centurial stones (as also at Chester and Melandra) were merely mural stones recording lengths of wall constructed by the soldiers. Broad Hulme had, therefore, agrimensorial features.

STRETFORD.

Following the Roman road southwards Hulme is succeeded by Stretford township, which was probably composed of two former entities, the north-easterly portion being Trafford and the south-westerly portion

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the provincial (Coote, *op. cit.*, p. 266); and, at a later date, what Beda called *familia* King Ælfred translated *hid*. These words refer to the family of the lord of the ham and not to the family of the ceorl (*ibid*, p. 266, note 4). The centuria consisted of either two hundred or two hundred and forty jugera, the number varying with the *territorium*. The hide was also twofold. The hide of two hundred acres prevailed in the south of England; the other was general in East Anglia, *and was probably prevalent in the north* (*ibid*, p. 263). Another hide, that of one hundred and twenty acres, was the equivalent of the *pro-centuria* (*ibid*, pp. 264-5). The hide was an estate of ancient foundation, and each had its own proper name. The Anglo-Saxon *socna* or manor was a group of several hides, but each hide remained as distinct as before (*ibid*, p. 265). The four hundred and eighty acres of Hulme were apparently assessed as two ploughlands.

* At the junction of Jackson's Lane and the cross lane was Martinscroft, which is perhaps the same as Martins-crosse, a place named in the "Manchester Registers" in 1578 (Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, xv. 226). Croft and cross are interchangeable in several instances round Manchester, *e.g.*, Croft's Bank and Cross Bank, near Urmston. Crosses frequently stood at cross roads, and in Roman times altars were often placed there. There was another and better known Martinscroft, close to and east of Warrington.

being Stretford. This division* is probably marked by "The Great Stone," which lies by the side of the Roman road, at a point which is just half way between the Corn brook on the north and a former channel of the Mersey on the south; the river anciently divided into several channels, one of which ran close to the Old Cock Inn at the south end of Stretford village.

This stone is eleven thousand English feet south-west of the south corner of the castrum, and according to tradition the stone was thrown from the castrum by a giant who had the very Roman name of Tarquin, which seems to confirm the Roman connection between the stone and the castrum. On the top of the stone there are two holes, which tradition says were for Tarquin's finger and thumb. At one time two stone pillars stood in these holes, and the pillars, especially if they were round, would be readily called Tarquin's finger and thumb. They have long ago disappeared.

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*In 1320 the description of the bounds of Manchester manor, as stated in *Mamecestre*, vol. ii., pp. 276-7, 372-3, distinguishes Trafford from Stretford thus: "Following the Mersey [from Stockport] to the *Stretford* brook [now Chorlton brook], and from there [northwards] following the boundary line between *Stretford* and Chollerton (which is a member of Withington manor) between [Mersey and] Melsche-lache [now Marsleach, a tributary of Longford brook], and following that [direction] to Withington how [high ground at the north-east corner of Longford Hall estate], and from there following [eastwards] between Chollerton and *Trafford* to the boundary line of Chollerton [which is a meridian line]; following [north-eastwards] between [this point of] Chollerton and Trafford [alongside of Whalley Range] as far as the Cornbrook, and following that [brook northwestwards] between the Manor of Hulme-next-Aldport and *Trafford* to the midwater of Irwell." This description would be compiled from the accounts given by witnesses, who would very likely use various names for the same place, but the description is easy to follow with the help of the words added in square brackets. This manorial boundary passed across Turn Moss (formerly called Terve or Turve Moss, the Anglo-Saxon verb *terve* meaning to turn) between Chorlton brook and Edge Lane, and crossed Back Lane (otherwise Hawthorn Lane), which is so old as to be locally reputed to be a Roman road.

The agrimensors used stone pillars to mark boundaries, and they were usually of stone brought from a distance in order to make them more distinctive. Dwarf round columns, called *termini augustei*, were also used as terminal marks, and were totally uninscribed. During the Augustan period these cylindrical pillars were especially in vogue. The base of Stretford Great Stone is of gritstone, foreign to the neighbourhood, 5ft. 4in. long, 2ft. broad, and 3ft. high. The cavities on its upper surface are 13in. long, 8in. broad, and 7in. deep. They are divided by a ridge or moulding. It is said that the stone was formerly on the other side of the road and "about fifty or sixty yards" nearer Manchester. It stands at a slight bend or angle in the line of road.*

About one thousand two hundred feet nearer Manchester than the Great Stone there is or was a straight line of hedge running southwardly from the road (at a house called "Trafford View") for four thousand feet to the boundary of Stretford and Chorlton-cum-Hardy at the north-east corner of the Longford Hall estate, where it would form a *trifinium* at the point which in 1320 was called Withington-how. This hedge line may perhaps mark the former boundary of Trafford, which was a separate manor belonging to a Saxon thegn, whose descendants afterwards acquired the adjacent manor of Stretford, after which the two entities coalesced and the division was forgotten. Besides Trafford and Stretford, the latter may have been subdivided into

* The present road covers two ancient roadways, one 3ft. 6in. below the surface and the other at a depth of 6ft. 6in. (Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, iii. 262, v. 293). The lower of these may possibly represent the old native salt-trader track which was obliterated by the Romans, and the upper one perhaps represented the Roman road which was in turn obliterated when the road was improved under the Turnpike Act in 1750, and the Great Stone may have been moved from its original position at that date.

Longford and Stretford, seeing that where the canal now crosses the Chester Road the fields to the west of the main road from Gorse Hill to Derbyshire Lane were formerly called Longford, which was a name that was applied to the area extending eastwards to the bounds of Chorlton-cum-Hardy.

The Stretford Great Stone is not the only local instance of a stone base carrying twin pillars. There are four instances from twelve to fifteen miles south-east of it; (1) Bow or Bore Stones, two miles south of Disley; (2) Longside Stone, one and a half miles east of Bow Stones, and close to a boundary; (3) Jordan Law Crosses, which *were* about two miles north of Bow Stones; (4) Robin Hood's Picking Rods, two and a half miles east of Compstall, and marking the meeting point of three boundaries.*

* Illustrations of Stretford Stone, Bow Stones, and the Picking Rods are given in *History of Stretford*, vol. 3 (Chetham Society, n.s., vol. 51). The boundary purpose of Bow Stones and Jordan Law Crosses is shown by a fifteenth century Latin manuscript of Sir Peter Legh, recording bounds "beginning at Chorl's-hede brigge and so descending the highway to a stone cross called Jordan Lawe crosse, and so following the road to Wulfe-putte (pit), and so as far as the Bore (Bow) Stones." *Jordan Law* base was taken to Stockport Rectory to serve as a grindstone, from which its general shape may be inferred to have been a thick roundish slab, and fragments of its two "crosses" are at Lyme Hall (Renaud, *History of Prestbury*, p. 144). The *Bow Stones* base is flat and unhewn, four feet long, two and a half feet broad, and eight to ten inches deep, with two sockets eighteen inches apart; in each socket a *round pillar*, one of them four feet high, the other three feet, and each rather over twelve inches in diameter, leaning slightly towards each other, and without ornament, unless a mark on the smaller represents a former fillet. The base of *Longside Stone* or Longstone is about two feet thick, four feet long, by two and a half to one foot broad, and each hole is about twelve inches long by nine inches broad and six inches deep. The base of the *Picking Rods* is roughly rectangular, and holds two plain *round pillars* about sixteen to eighteen inches in diameter, the northern thirty inches high, and the southern forty-two inches high. As to the trifinial purpose of the Bow Stones see Coote, *Romans of Britain*, pp. 98-9. The agrimensors Latinus and Mysrontius wrote: *Nam in locis montanis terminos posuimus rotundos, quos Augusteos vocamus, pro hac ratione, quòd Augustus eos recensuit* (Goesius, *Re Agrariæ Auctores*, p. 255).

Through Trafford from north to south ran Trafford Lane (now "improved" and called Seymour Grove), and at its southern end it met the artificial northern boundary of Chorlton-cum-hardy at right angles, at a point just one thousand feet west of the east boundary of Chorlton, and that eastern boundary is a true meridian and artificial line running for six thousand feet southwards to Chorlton brook, which in its turn serves as a natural boundary. From the north end of this meridian the Stretford boundary runs north-east in a straight artificial line for four thousand one hundred feet to the Corn brook, parallel with the Roman road to Chester. Are these facts all mere undesigned coincidences? Who designed these remarkable artificial lines?

From the south end of Trafford Lane the boundary runs due west to Firs Farm, and there bends south at a right angle for a few yards, and then turns west also at a right angle and runs in an artificial line due west to the *trifinium* called Withington How already mentioned, and from there it turns south-west (in a line parallel with the Roman road) to and across Edge Lane.

The westerly boundary of Stretford is very remarkable. It is an artificial line running due north and south for not less than ten thousand seven hundred feet, but at its southerly end, on reaching the level of the Mersey valley, it follows a brook course for one thousand two hundred feet south-west to the Mersey, and it is noteworthy that the west boundary of the adjacent Urmston township has in its turn a similar bend along a brook at its south end. The Great Stone is seven thousand feet from the western boundary of Stretford, and that boundary is also the boundary of the Manchester parish.

The northerly boundary of Stretford is from its west end an artificial line running east at right angles with the

western boundary. If the western boundary was prolonged five thousand feet to the north it would meet Gilda brook at Eccles, and that brook is the boundary between Barton township and Pendleton township. The north boundary of Stretford turns down a brook into the Irwell, and the line of that brook is lineable with the west side of Salford township, on the opposite side of the river.

In 1554 the western boundary of Stretford was called "Trafford's Mere." This appears by a record that a new ditch was then made within Urmston to divide "Newcroft Moss" from "Hillom (Hill-ham) Moss," and the new ditch extended from "Sandiford Croft" on the west to "Trafford's Mere" on the east (*History of Stretford*, vol. 2, p. 42, note; Chetham Society, n.s.).

Round Stretford village there are abundant traces of former cultivation in strips. A few Roman remains have been found, but if, as has been conjectured, the Romans had a rest-camp for troops at the Mersey, it would be more probably on the opposite side of the river, for the convenience of troops if they happened to find themselves floodbound there on their way from distant Chester. Such a camp would not be necessary at Stretford for any such reason, because the Manchester castrum was only about three miles away. For the Ashton-on-Mersey rest-camp, see Whitaker's *Manchester*, chapter vi.

URMSTON.

Although this township* is outside Manchester parish, a glance at it is necessary. The eastern boundary of

* In 1317 Urmston was assessed as one ploughland (Farrer's *Inquests*, p. 71), namely, Gilbert de Ashton and Richard, son of Adam de Urmston, three oxgangs each, and William, son of William the Sergeant, one oxgang, leaving the ownership of the eighth oxgang unnamed. It has maintained its original identity as an entity, notwithstanding this subdivided state of ownership.

Urmston forms part of the western boundary of Stretford and has been already described. The western boundary of Urmston is a perfect replica of the eastern. Both are artificial and meridians.

The northern boundary is if anything still more remarkable. It runs due east and west, and is called Carr Ditch or White-leach Gutter. This ditch line is continued to the west into Flixton until its total length is just seventeen thousand feet (three miles eighty-six yards two feet). The Urmston section of this ditch is seven thousand nine hundred feet long, and if continued eastwardly would run parallel with Derbyshire Lane in Stretford, and if continued a few miles further to the east it would lie parallel with Mickle Ditch, which will be described later. On its way it would coincide with the north end of fields called "Reap Acres" at Withington How, and the Reap Acres fill in the angular inset of the Chorlton boundary west of Firs Farm. If, on the other hand, Mickle Ditch were prolonged westwardly it would cross Chorlton Lane at "Oswald Field," near Mars-leach, about one thousand four hundred feet south of a prolongation of the Carr Ditch line.

Carr's Ditch is a remarkable rubicon, with the townships of Urmston and Flixton on the south and the three semi-self-governing hamlets* of Lostock, Croft, and Davyhulme (parts of Barton township) on the north.

At its west end this rubicon meets rectangularly Woods End Lane, which is more or less a meridian. At a point one thousand eight hundred and fifty feet short of that lane the Flixton boundary runs due north in a straight artificial line to Longford Brook. It will be seen later

* Their bond of union was originally manorial, which also caused the formation of the vast township of Barton, of which they form part.

that the point where it meets Longford brook was apparently fixed by a geometrical survey line running from Clayton Hall on the east through the castrum. Again, it may be asked whether this extraordinary series of *artificial* lines is merely an undesigned coincidence, or whether it is not more reasonable to attribute the series to a systematic subdivision of the district by a central authority, such as only the Roman dominion afforded.

Nothing is known for certain as to the date when Carr's Ditch was formed, but it is referred to in 1626 in the Urmston Halmot Records, when the jury ordered "the dytch and water course [Carr's Ditch] lyeinge betweene Lostock and [Davy-] Hulme of the one parte and Vrmeston of thother" to be guttered from time to time by the tenants of land adjoining in Urmston (*History of Stretford*, vol. ii., p. 38). The Stretford Manor Court Records begin (so far as extant) in 1700, and "White lach Gutter" (Carr's Ditch) is named in them in that year (*ibid*, ii. 49). Watkin (*Roman Lancashire*, p. 250) notes that "in old maps a road, which may have been Roman, is marked as running through Urmston, Flixton, and Irlam, where there was a ford. It probably bore for Warrington."

Urmston was a typical township and preserved its ancient customs till a late date. Servile tenures, which may be regarded as relics of Roman usages, were only abandoned after 1750, but had long been commutable at the lord's pleasure for sums which indicated their commencement in times when values and wages were much less. The tenants held leases for lives, and were, therefore, "free-holders;" they paid considerable fines on renewals of their leases, but "the ancient rent" remained only a few shillings per annum; they rendered "ancient

boon services"* on the lord's demesne or at his hall; when a tenant died the lord took "the best beast or best good" for a heriot, but in later years the heriots were changed to 5s. for a cottage holding and 40s. for a farm, and even these fell into disuse after 1750, about which date the manor was sold to a stranger.

Shoresworth or Mode Wheel.

This former entity on the northern bank of the Irwell below Salford is now better known as Mode Wheel, which was the name of a water corn mill opposite

* The boon services may be grouped as follows: One day a man to fill muck (manure) or 3d.; to lead muck with a cart or 12d.; mucking with a team or 4d.; a day plowing or 12d.; plowing once over an acre [Cheshire measure] and harrowing same or 6s. 8d.; a day reaping or 8d.; two days' reaping "being the ancient service" or 8d.; two days' work in harvest or 1s. 4d.; shearing an acre of oats for 14d. wages and half an acre of barley for 8d. wages, or 7s.; a day's work on the moss, rearing turves and one day wind-rowing same or 4d.; two days' work *of a woman* dressing turf or 4d.; two days' work *of a woman* pressing towe or dressing towe or 4d.; two days' dressing hemp or flax or 4d.; a burthen of Bent (rushes) brought to Urmston Hall or 2d.; two days' work *of a taylor* or 8d.

In 1282 in Manchester manor ten oxgangs in Ardwick were still held in villeinage, also ten in Crumpsal, and sixteen in Gorton, but regular week work on the demesne had been commuted for money rents ranging from 4s. 5d. to 13s. 4d. per annum and personal service on the demesne was limited to a day's plowing with their own plows worth 2d., a day's harrowing worth 1d., a day's reaping worth 1d., and a day's carrying corn with their own carts worth 2d. (Tait's *Mediæval Manchester* and see p. 27 for heriots). At the same date thirty Withington tenants who owned a plow had to plow half an acre of Manchester demesne for 1d. (worth then 6d. an acre) and to reap one day for a meal, and the Traffords had to find a reeve to look after these Withington boon-workers (*op. cit.*, p. 28). In 1261 a grant was made of the "town" of Pendleton, with all the villeins holding the villeinage of that town, with all their chattels and sequel or families (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, *Fines*, part I., p. 122 *n.*). In 1303 Henry de Worsley claimed John de Booth as his "native and fugitive," but John produced Henry's charter releasing John from all actions of "nativity," so that he and his sequel and chattels should remain free and of free condition for ever (De Banc Roll, No. 145, membrane 1 *dorso; Victoria History*). See also Heaton Norris, *post.*

Trafford Park. It is of interest for two reasons: first, its northern boundary, which is straight and artificial, and was related to, if not coincident with, the Roman road to Warrington from the castrum; secondly, it contained a "Campfield," shown on sheets 103 and 104 of the six-inch Ordnance Survey, the longest indentation shown upon sheet 104 being by oversight only outlined and not shaded.

According to that map there was in 1845 no indication of a rampart or ditch to enclose the "Camp," but Watkin (*Roman Lancashire*, p. 220) alleges that it had "a rampart and fosse enclosing on three sides a parallelogram, two hundred and fifty *yards* from north-west to south-east, by one hundred and fifty from north-east to south-west." By "yards" Mr. Watkin must have meant *feet*, for the much more important castrum itself only measured one hundred and seventy-five yards by one hundred and forty. Mr. Watkin adds that "the fourth side [south-west] may not have been so protected, as there was a very steep natural slope of about forty feet to the flat ground on the river bank, [which is] distant about one hundred and fifty yards; and at some later period *three large excavations* were made in the [south-]western side, extending about one hundred and eighty feet from the bank above the river into the area, fourteen feet deep and seventy-five feet wide at the surface, with sloping banks. They are evidently [?] not Roman."

The object of these trenchlike excavations is unknown. They do not resemble gravel pits. The most easterly begins at a point four hundred and seventy-five feet from Mode Wheel Lane at the south-east corner of the field, and according to the ordnance map penetrated two hundred feet, as against Mr. Watkin's one hundred and eighty feet, into the platform, and the width was seventy-five feet. The middle trench began seven hundred and fifty

feet from the south-east corner of the field, and was only fifty feet wide, and only penetrated one hundred and thirty-three feet. These dimensions are exactly two-thirds of those of the easternmost trench, and, as if to mark or emphasize this proportion, the middle trench at two-thirds of its penetration was crossed by a bar resembling a drawbridge across a moat. The third and most westerly indentation is **V** shaped; the point of the **V** is turned to the east as if pointing to the two other trenches or to the castrum, and the north side of the **V** is at right angles with and exactly on a level with the inner end of the middle trench. A mound shaped like a comma, with its tail pointing into the **V**, finishes what looks far more like an agrimensorial diagram than a camp, and it is at least a remarkable coincidence that one of the geometrical lines hereafter to be mentioned passes through this so-called camp. The south hedge of the field is set at right angles to Mode Wheel Lane, but the "Camp" Scarp on the south-west is not parallel with this hedge line, and from east to west gradually slopes back from it. The township boundary brook runs on the west side of the field and joins the Irwell at a point four thousand feet due north of a bend in the north boundary of Stretford. The brook divides Shoresworth from Pendleton township. The east boundary of Shoresworth is a similar and parallel brook. This camp is eleven thousand seven hundred and fifty feet, or over two English miles, almost due west from the castrum. Stretford Great Stone is eleven thousand feet from the castrum.

A Clowes estate plan, dated 1808, shows the north boundary of Shoresworth as a perfectly straight hedge line from Cross Lane to Mode Wheel Lane. It represents most probably the line of Roman road to Eccles. Mr. Watkin,

however, says (in *Roman Lancashire*, p. 48) that the Roman road to Wigan had near Seedley Railway Station [close to Cross Lane] a branch which has apparently gone through [the Mode Wheel] Campfield [then across the Irwell], by or through the north portion of Trafford Park [then crossing the Irwell again] to "the Street" in Barton, thence by "Street Fields" in a south-westerly direction by Irlam, Cadishead, and near Statham to the Roman station at Wilderspool.* The improbability that the Romans would take such a line, involving two crossings of the river in two miles, is vast.† It is much more probable that the Roman road to Wilderspool passed along this straight north side of Shoresworth to Eccles, where it met the north end of "Barton Lane," running in a straight line south-west to "Street" and "Street Fields." The Street Fields road crossed Worsley brook at Salt Eye by a plat or small bridge, which in 1369 was called "Salt Eye Platt" in the will of Thomas Booth, of Barton (Harl. MSS., 2,122, fo. 133, Brit. Mus.).

SALFORD.

The shape of this township is that of a boot with its toe to the north-east and the sole along the south-east. The toe piece forms a rough square within a bend of the

*In 1320 there was a several fishery "between Barton ford and Frith ford" (*Mamecestre*, pp. 362, 379). The position of Barton ford is known, and if the fishery was in the Irwell, Frithford might have been at Mode Wheel; but it is more probable that Frithford and the fishery were on a tributary stream, such as Gilda brook, because about 1540 "*Frearforth* Green in Monton" is mentioned in the *Whalley Coucher Book* (iv., 1238), and there was a Gilden-hale-ford in the same locality (*ibid*, p. 880).

† Wilderspool, near Warrington, must not be mistaken for "Welderspool," which is marked on an inset map of the country round Manchester on Monsieur Laurent's map of Manchester, 1793, close to "Cross Bank," near Urmston. Laurent drew his inset map from the Yates-Green map of Lancashire, 1787, which was on the scale of one inch to a mile. Wilderspool House still stands a little south of Dumplington Lane.

Irwell, and the heel and ankle piece form a much larger square. The smaller square was the real Salford, and the larger square contained its "liberties," viz., Oldfield, Cross Lane, and Ordsal (*Salford Portmote Records*, Chet. Soc., n.s., vols. 46, 48). This larger half was roughly divided into halves by the Roman road to Wigan (now represented approximately by Regent Road* with Ordsal on the south-west side. Oldfield Lane and Cross Lane ran at right angles off this Roman road and parallel with each other, and therefore resembled Jackson's Lane and Moss Lane in Hulme. There can be little doubt of their agrimensorial origin. The name Oldfield savours of antiquity. The land on each side of that lane was formerly owned or occupied in strips, and the same held good of Cross Lane.†

The western boundary of Salford began at the Irwell near Mode Wheel and passed upwards along a brook to a little north of Regent Road, and for the rest of the way was artificial. It did not extend quite as far as the Bolton Road, but a little short of it turned rectangularly in a fairly direct line to the Irwell at Larkhill, now Peel Park. It crossed the river and traversed the opposite peninsula in a curving line, which probably represents the river course at the time the boundary was laid out, as the

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*Regent Road, between Cross Lane and Ordsal Lane, was in 1793 called Back Lane on Green's map of Manchester, and from Ordsal Lane a track ran in continuation south-eastwards to the ford, Hulme fields, and castrum.

†As to Oldfield, in 1317 five roods in the Oldfield were released from dower by Cecily, widow of William the cooper, of Salford, to Randle the miller (Lord Wilton's deeds; *Vict. Hist.*). In 1346 John de Oldfield was named amongst Salford tenants (Additional MS., 32103, fo. 145). As to Cross Lane, in 1623 Henry Keley bought a plot called the Roodlands, "containing half an acre of large measure," in the Cross Lane, in Salford, the inheritance of James Hulme, deceased. It was a narrow strip three hundred and ninety-six yards long, on the east side of Cross Lane, and contained one acre three roods twenty perches statute measure.

Crescent formerly had the significant name of Broken Bank. Having recrossed the river the boundary ran in a straight line pointing to the south-eastern corner of Broughton, where Broughton boundary brook joins the Irwell.

After crossing the Bolton Road the boundary had to the north of it a long tongue of land which from time immemorial, and certainly as far back as 1346, was called Wallness. Possibly the wall from which this Ness took its name was this boundary line, which may have been originally a ditch and rampart, like that of Mickle Ditch, otherwise Mickle Wall. In 1320 one of the Crumpsal boundaries was called Ox-wall. This Salford-Pendleton boundary was a township, parish, and manor frontier, and therefore was an important one.

Broughton.

The main boundaries of this township are natural, but on the north-east the old British track (Bury Old Road) is the limit, and on the east side a singular rectangular excrescence projects into Cheetham. The south boundary coincided with part of Salford's northern boundary. It was artificial, and has been described above.

The township resembles a shepherd's crook turned to the west, with Salford at its foot. Kersal fills the head and point, and the tip of the crook is cut off by an artificial straight line similar to the township's southern boundary. These north and south artificial boundaries are important as showing that the system of land divisions was not limited to the area of Manchester parish, but affected a larger area.

Kersal, though now an integral part of Broughton, was a separate entity at one time, and the boundary between

it and the rest of Broughton is artificial, and is evidently based on the line of Roman road. The Kersal eastern boundary began on the north at Singleton brook at a point six hundred and twenty-five feet west of the Roman road, and ran parallel with that road for five thousand three hundred feet. It then slanted south-east in a straight line to the Roman road, and followed the road southwards till opposite Broom Lane, where it turned abruptly west down the "Brows" or "Cliff" to the Irwell. Broom Lane, opposite this turning point, ran due east to the eastern boundary of Broughton at Tetlow Fold.

The Roman road to Ribchester ran through the length of Broughton in a straight line from north-west to south-east. The village or hamlet of Broughton clustered near the ford crossing the Irwell into Wallness. From this village a lane ran south-east to Salford, parallel with the Roman road, and another ran at right angles north-east to join the Roman road, and lay roughly parallel with the present Camp Street, and on each side of this connecting lane there were fields occupied in strips, those on the north side being called "Long Greaves" and those on the south "Bandy Lands" and "Barrow Cliffs."

Similarly, in the western part of Kersal there was a lane running parallel with the Roman road, and extending from Agecroft Bridge on the north nearly to the tip of the crook on the south (where it crossed "Wodarne Ford" to Whit Lane, Pendleton), and a cross road ran from east to west connecting this lane with the Roman road.

On entering Broughton by the Roman road from Manchester there was a "camp" on the easterly side, to which the modern Camp Street owes its name. This camp was more probably related to the castrum than to

Manchester village, because it was five thousand three hundred feet north-west of that village, but exactly nine thousand feet from the north corner of the castrum. There is no record of the shape of this so-called camp. A farmhouse and buildings occupied the site apparently for centuries. The "camp" was most probably a boundary or survey mark constructed by the agrimensors in the angle formed by the road and brook; it may have been a *botontinus* or barrow. On the opposite side of the brook is a natural eminence called "Barrow Hill," where no record of a tumulus has been preserved, and some fields to the west of the "camp" were called "Barrow Cliffs," cliff being the local name for any short sharp declivity, and an adjacent field facing south was called "Vineyard." This congeries of names may reflect some Roman *villa*, to which the Saxons applied their word *burh*, from which the township may have taken its former name of Burgh-ton or Brugh-ton. The spot was in no way suitable for a camp, but was very well adapted for the site of a villa, being sheltered by higher ground on the north and east.

Further up the brook, half way to Tetlow Fold, is the rectangular excrescence already mentioned. It is called "Camel Fold" or Field, which may be a corruption of the personal name Gamel. Snowhill is another name for it. The southern side measures nine hundred and fifty feet and the western side one thousand four hundred feet. These dimensions would make the contents about seven *jugera*.

At the north-east corner of Broughton and six thousand six hundred feet north of Broughton "camp" was Fow-caster, a *trifinium* marking the junction of three townships, Broughton, Crumpsall, and Prestwich. In old records the name figures as Fogh-castle, Fow-caster, How-caster,

and Low-caster (*how* and *low* being Saxon words for hill), also Castle Hill.*

About 1770 Whitaker's history describes Fowcaster as "lying on the right hand [east] of the road to Bury, in the first field in Prestwich parish, on a rising point, having a plane [or platform] of half an acre. On one side [north-west] the ground falls from it, briskly near the road and gently at a distance from it. On another side [north-east] there was a fosse, traces of it still plainly appearing, and the field hedge runs in its channel. The remaining sides form a very sharp slope, twenty to forty yards long [south-east two hundred feet, south-west four hundred feet], and the ditch is still very evident below."

Watkin, in *Roman Lancashire*, p. 222, says "it is much more likely to have been an agrimensorial landmark than a camp, which I think is the case also with the Castle Hill between the end of Vine St. and Kersal Cell." Probably the Fowcaster *trifinium* contained an *arca* with "furniture."

The Castle Hill alluded to by Mr. Watkin lies five thousand five hundred feet south-west of Fowcastle, and not far from the road along the hog's back ridge which extended from Fowcastle towards Kersal Cell. As far as is known it is of natural origin, but may have been artificially scarped and shaped, as it has some resemblance

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*In 1338 an Agecroft charter (No. 21; Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. iv., p. 211) calls it "Le Foghcastel." In 1479 another Agecroft charter (No. 83) mentions "Le Foye-castel More" as part of Prestwich lordship and not part of Crumpsall manor. In 1520 another Agecroft deed (No. 100) mentions part of "Prestwich Moor" joining to the "Fo-castel." In 1396 Hawise de *Castle-hill* owned lands in the centre of Broughton called "Le Knolles" and "Kyper-feld," which, together with "Ousecroft," are described as "in Manchester," meaning the parish (*Mamecestre*, vols. 2 and 3, pp. 422 *n.*, 465; *Manchester City News Notes and Queries*, vol. vii., p. 112, &c.), and this Hawise may have lived on the site of Broughton Old Hall, which is on high ground only five hundred yards from Fow-castle, and may, therefore, have been called colloquially Castle Hill.

to the Mode Wheel "camp."* The north-west and south-east sides measure two hundred and fifty feet each, and the south-west side is one hundred feet long. It forms a rectangular platform, and close to its west side there is a small isolated mound, not unlike the "comma" at Mode Wheel.† This "castle" is conspicuous and well adapted to serve as a survey land mark. A Clowes estate plan, dated 1755, calls it "Castle Hill," but another, dated 1808, calls it "Cross Hill," a name which is not given to it by any other known record. Close at hand lay a "Common Field," with a road through it called "Mesne Field Lane." Half a mile north-west of Castle Hill is Raines-how (now Rainsough) camp, on a small hill overlooking Agecroft ford or bridge. It is just four English miles from Stretford Great Stone and one thousand five hundred feet east of due north of that stone. The Mode Wheel camp lies west of the same due north line.

Geometrical Survey.

It may be here noted that the distance between Raines-how camp and Fowcastle is exactly the same as between Fowcastle and Broughton "camp," but the angle is not a right angle, and if the line from Fowcastle to Broughton camp‡ is prolonged it passes through the north-west corner of the castrum, and if a line parallel to it is drawn southwardly from Raines-how it passes close by Pendleton Old Hall and Pendleton "Pole," and cuts the

*The following quotations from *Rei Agrariæ Auctores* by Goesius, Amsterdam, 1674, seem to support the idea. *Variis regionibus signa defodiunt pro terminos;* Sic. Flacc. (p. 4). *Tumor terræ in effigiem limitis constitutus;* Hyginus (p. 147). *Signa aliqua pro terminis defoderunt;* Mago et Vegoia (p. 257). *Signum de terra manibus factum;* Marcus Baro (p. 244).

†Such a side landmark was styled an appendix, and told its tale to the initiated.

‡This line apparently served as the *Cardo Maximus* of the survey.

Roman road close to Trafford Old Hall at a point just three times the Rainshow-Fowcastle distance. If a line* is drawn eastwardly from the north-west corner of the castrum to Clayton Hall, and is prolonged westwardly, it passes close to the north-west corner of the Stretford boundary, and reaches the exact point where the Flixton boundary joins the Longford brook. If, moreover, a rhomb is drawn from Raines-how with its north and east sides joining at Fowcastle, and a second rhomb of equal dimensions is drawn below it, the south line of the second rhomb will, if prolonged to the west, pass through Mode Wheel camp; the Clayton to Flixton line cuts a third rhomb in halves; and if at the castrum three similar rhombs are set out below each other and below the Clayton to Flixton line, and the southern side of the third is prolonged to the east it touches Peel Moat in Heaton Norris, at a distance of two rhombs from the Fowcaster to castrum line. The Flixton boundary at Longford brook is four and a half rhombs west of the castrum, and Clayton Hall† is two and a half rhombs east of the castrum, while Stretford Great Stone is half a rhomb west of the west side of the Rainshow to Fowcaster rhomb prolonged southward. It appears, therefore, as if the half rhomb (measuring three thousand four hundred *Roman* feet) was the factor of the survey. Each side of these rhombs measures six thousand six hundred English feet and six thousand eight hundred Roman feet, and this geometrical analysis of the district gives a reason for the existence of these various points, which are on any other basis situated "nowhere in particular."

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* This line apparently served as the *Decumanus Maximus* of the survey.

† For the coincidence of other moated halls with these conjectured survey lines, see Peel Moat *post*.

Rains-how Camp.

To revert to Rains-how "camp." Watkin (in *Roman Lancashire*, p. 221) describes it as "a slight mound, having an area of an acre and a half at the summit," and Whitaker's history says the hillock is of gravel and sand one hundred yards high,* and had ditches visible round it half way up and from fifteen to twenty yards [feet] deep. It is "orientated" like the castrum, and, like it, is a quadrangular oblong, but the south-east side is irregular. Mr. C. Roeder has repeatedly searched the camp for Roman remains, but without success. On the adjacent Kersal Moor, however, he found a neolithic implement site.

Rains-how is in Prestwich township, which, like Broughton, is bisected by the Ribchester military road,† and to the east of that road the township boundaries are evidently based upon it. The north boundaries of Prestwich, Great Heaton, Little Heaton, and Middleton are almost entirely artificial, and stretch at right angles to the Roman road in a succession of parallel lines with

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* This is an evident mistake for one hundred feet, as Agecroft Bridge is one hundred and twenty feet above ordnance datum, Rainshow village one hundred and seventy-four feet, and the camp two hundred and fifty feet.

† Mr. Watkin (*Roman Lancashire*, p. 55) surmised that this road was of considerably later period than the military road to Wigan *viâ* Worsley, which from Wigan ran to Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, and thence eastwards to Ribchester. He based this surmise on the fact that paving had been found upon it in only one or two places, but that seems equally to point to a conclusion that at one time the whole length of road was paved. The strategic need for the road existed from the first in order to avoid the long detour *viâ* Wigan and Walton, and for the proper control of the hilly country between Manchester and Ribchester. Most probably both the roads (*viâ* Wigan and *viâ* Prestwich) were constructed at the same time, and both appear to have been taken into account by the agrimensors, when marking off and subdividing the Manchester territory.

rectangular junctions for thirteen thousand eight hundred feet, or over two miles and a half.

Space forbids an examination of the many interesting features to be found in the townships of Cheetham, Crumpsall, Blackley, Moston, Harpurhey, Newton, Failsworth, Bradford, Beswick, Droylsden, and Openshaw.*

Mickle Ditch.

South-eastward of Manchester, and about a mile south of Corn brook at Gorton, lies this most remarkable of all the artificial boundaries round Manchester. It concerns many townships, and extends from the great Ashton Moss on the east to the Great Hough Moss, five miles away, on the west, crossing on its way the Romanised Ashton Old Road, the Romanised Stockport Road, and the ancient way now called Wilmslow Road. About 1200 in Audenshaw deeds it was called "Mykel Diche" (Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Charters*, pp. 328-333): in 1270 a deed relating to Slade near Stockport Road calls it "Milk Wall," a corruption at an early date, which indicates that even then the name was of long-standing antiquity. The name also shows that it was from early times regarded both as a ditch and wall. In

* The artificial boundary line called significantly *Lime* Ditch in Failsworth, forming a township, parish, and manorial frontier, crossing the Roman road, and running north and south for two thousand two hundred and fifty feet, is remarkable; so is the long straight easterly boundary of Clayton called Edge Lane with its northerly continuation called Culcheth Lane through Newton; so also is the north-east boundary of Blackley and Moston across White Moss, which in 1566 was stated to be "round hills and stakes in them for meres," and these are marked on a "platt or map" preserved amongst the Clowes muniments. For references to agrimensorial descriptions of tarred posts in mounds as boundary marks, see Coote, *Romans of Britain*, p. 70, note, p. 100. According to a very early grant of land at Monithornes near Eccles in Barton manor "a pit at Sevenlows" was one of the boundaries (*Whalley Coucher Book*, I. 51, Chetham Society).

1322 the boundary between Manchester manor and Reddish was "Muchil Dich" (*Mamecestre*, vol. ii., p. 373), and in 1317 in a Rusholme deed it was called the "Mekel dyche" (Booker, *Didsbury*, p. 124), and in 1484 another Rusholme deed calls it "Miche Wall diche" (Booker, *Birch Chapel*, pp. 72, 230). The present name has the corrupt form of Nicker or Nicko Ditch. The point where it crosses Stockport Road is marked by "Midway House," as being midway between Manchester and Stockport, a fact which probably accounts for its original construction.

Mr. John Higson, who was a careful observer and was born not above a mile from the ditch, noted that "the formation of Nicker Ditch was apparently anterior to the general cultivation of the land through which it passes, if not to the first colonisation of the District; else why is it that it acts as a mere or boundary to so many townships?" He also records that "*the hedge is on the Gorton or Manchester side all along*. It seems to imply that when the land was first divided into fields the remains of the old breastwork were used as a cop or backing, the thorns, &c., being simply planted upon it" (*Manchester Guardian, circa* 1850, article on the Slade Deeds; see Owen MSS., vol. lxxx., pp. 124-5). The trench along the south side indicates, according to the ancient law or rule for hedges and ditches, that the makers came from the north, that is from Manchester, and not from Stockport. But was it "a breastwork?" Tradition, indeed, says it was made in a single night by an army from Manchester, each man digging a length equal to his own height.* If each man's

* Manor court juries sometimes directed the cleansing of ditches by so many shovel lengths per individual (*History of Stretford*, vol. ii., p. 43). Each cohort of the Roman legions constructed a length of the walls of the castrum, usually twenty-four Roman feet, and marked it with a centurial stone recording the fact.

height was six feet it must have taken about four thousand five hundred to dig twenty-six thousand nine hundred and fifty feet, which appears to be the total length of the ditch. The tradition, at all events, indicates that the ditch was made all at one time under some controlling authority, and not spasmodically in sections at different dates after the land had been appropriated to or by different owners. The ditch was not made for drainage purposes, because it runs up and down hill, and crosses the deepsunk Debdale Clough towards its eastern end.

The tradition which claims it as a defence against the Danes seems untrustworthy, for it was a very flimsy defence. Its only title to the epithet "Great" was its extraordinary length, and in other respects there was nothing to distinguish it from any ordinary field ditch and cop, while for defensive purposes there was, only half a mile nearer Manchester, the much stronger strategic line of the Gore brook, running for practically the whole length of the ditch. The probabilities seem to be in favour of the tradition being a perversion of the fact that it was made by order of the military authorities at the castrum, under the direction of the agrimensors, and by means of impressed labour.

Mr. Higson observed that it was the boundary of many townships, and it is easy to adopt that fact as the reason for its formation. These boundary purposes are clearly seen on reference to the six-inch ordnance map of 1845, which shows that it began on the east at or close to the boundary between Manchester parish and Ashton parish on Ashton Moss.*

*In Roman times Ashton was probably an entity with an allotted territory. It was independent of Manchester parish prior to 1250, from about which date the list of rectors is practically complete. About 1300 the Manchester rectors claimed that it was only a chapelry to which they could nominate a curate, but the claim was defeated (*Victoria*

The ditch thence ran alongside lanes for four thousand three hundred and fifty feet to Ashton Old Road, and from there for five thousand five hundred and fifty feet is marked by a clean cut hedge line to Debdale Clough. This length of nine thousand nine hundred feet lies wholly in Ashton parish and does not serve as a township boundary. Near Ashton Old Road it is mentioned about 1200 in a grant of land to the monks of Kersal (Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp. 328-33).

At Debdale Clough it begins its function of a township boundary, and for three thousand feet, as far as Reddish Lane, divides Denton on the south from Gorton on the north. For the next one thousand seven hundred feet, as far as Pink Pank Lane, it divides Reddish on the south from Gorton on the north. Thence for four thousand four hundred feet, as far as Stockport Road, it divides Levenshulme on the south from Gorton on the north. For the next one thousand two hundred feet, as far as Slade Lane, it divides Levenshulme on the south from Rusholme on the north. After Slade Lane it traverses Rusholme (having an area called Ald-hulme* on the

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History). In 1433 the traditional boundary across Ashton Moss was in dispute, and was described by aged witnesses in the course of litigation lasting from 1413 to 1437. The boundary "began at Osel-lache [a stream near Seven Thorns Well on Ashton Old Road], following [northwardly] up Oselach to Osel birch that stood above ye hede of the same lach, and so from Osel birch to a black stake that stood in the mosse, and from that stake to a lache [stream] that rennes out of the mosse into a clough [at Lum] called Hare-den Hirne [*i.e.*, corner], the quech clogh departs Droylesden in the towne [or manor] of Mancestr and Ashton" (*History of Newton*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 303-8, Chetham Society). The description of Ashton parish bounds in 1643 and 1857, as given in Croston's Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. ii., p. 311, are not of service on this point.

*Fields called Great and Little Oldham lie on the south bank of Fallowfield brook, midway between Slade Lane and "Large Oaks." Holdholmbrock is mentioned in a deed about 1224 (Booker, *Didsbury*, p. 121).

south) for four thousand feet to Whitworth Lane* (other-called Fallowfield, Ladybarn, Ardern's, or Siddall Lane, which is itself a meridian line), and then for five hundred and fifty feet follows Old Hall Lane to Wilmslow Road, with the area called Fallowfield on the south and the area formerly called Hindley Birches on the north, both areas lying in Rusholme.

West of Wilmslow Road for two thousand two hundred feet, as far as the Gore brook, this Mickle Ditch divides Withington on the south from Platt in Rusholme on the north, and opposite the junction of the ditch and brook the western boundary of Rusholme runs rectangularly to the north in an artificial line parallel with Wilmslow Road.

The extreme length of Mickle Ditch is five miles one hundred and eighty-three yards (twenty-six thousand nine hundred and fifty feet), and the dimensions of its sections are curiously suggestive of an origin with a decimal and century loving race like the Romans. The tradition attributes its formation to a force of four thousand five hundred men, but the Domesday population of the Salford hundred only amounted to three thousand one hundred and seventy-eight, according to Mr. Farrer, and that included women and children, so that my own revised estimate of thirty-five thousand two hundred and eighty for the eleventh century population is to some extent supported by the probabilities on this basis.

The ditch has an east and west direction, and runs almost due east from its western end and as far as Debdale Clough, where its boundary purpose ends, and from

* At Oaks Cottage in Old Hall Lane there is a gamma-shaped moat, which is noteworthy. The top line runs east and west, parallel with Mickle Ditch. It may have marked off the eastern limit of Fallowfield. Its shape resembles the moat at Cheetham Peel. *Fundus in gamma jacere dicitur, qui ea est forma* (Goesius, *Index*). *In versuris decusses inveniuntur aut gammæ* (Goesius, *Sic. Flacc.*, p. 8).

that point takes a northward curve, the reason for which appears to be that Mickle Ditch is approximately symmetrical with another rubicon further north, which was formed by brooks running more or less parallel with the general trend of the river Medlock further north and of the greater boundary rivers, Mersey and Tame, further south. This more northerly rubicon is best traced from west to east. It began at the meeting point* of Stretford, Hulme, and Moss Side, and followed the Corn brook as far as Greenheys, dividing Hulme on the north from Moss Side on the south, and thence the line was continued by a tributary formerly called Greenlow lache, which came from Greenlow at Longsight, and for this length it divided Chorlton-upon-Medlock (formerly called Chorlton Row) on the north from first Moss Side, and secondly, further east, from Rusholme on the south.

The north boundary of Kirkmanshulme, east of Stockport Road, continues this northerly rubicon, with a curious rectangular excrescence of Gorton township lying on the north of the line and Kirkmanshulme on the south. The dimensions of this excrescence, which had purely artificial boundaries, were on the north and south sides four thousand feet, and on the east and west sides three thousand feet. That neighbourhood was formerly called Greenlow Marsh, but nothing more seems known with certainty. Between the excrescence and Stockport Road there is a long narrow triangular wedge, which seems to have belonged to Chorlton until the sixteenth century, when it was awarded to Gorton, and Gorton was made

* At this point there is a "*Hill* Field," where in 1845 there was no hill perceptible, and at Greenheys, where three boundaries met, near the junction of Corn brook and Greenlow lache, there was "Green-hill Farm," where also there was no hill then apparent. Each of these points would be suitable for a trifinial *botontinus*. No tenant named Hill can be traced, from whom Hill Field could have taken its name, after 1700.

to repair half the width of Stockport Road co-extensive with the addition (*Vict. Hist.*). The hedges within the Gorton excrescence ran north and south in parallel lines, and part of its east boundary was a lane which ran northward across Ashton Old Road and through Bradford, and was locally reputed to be of Roman origin.

Space, however, forbids a closer examination of Gorton, Ardwick, Beswick, and the significant two hundred and forty acres of Kirkmanshulme, though each possesses several interesting features. Denton and Haughton must also be passed over, except to direct attention to the 9,500 feet of direct line made by Long Lane through Denton, and the rectangular blocks called Bagley Field (1,700 feet by 800 feet) and Causeway Field (with a meridian line extending north and south of Broom Lane for 4,600 feet), as well as "The Acres" (1,900 feet by 750 feet) in Town Lane, Denton.

Reddish.

This township did not form part of Manchester Manor, the boundaries of which, and therefore of Reddish also, were carefully described in 1320 (*Mamecestre*, vol. ii., pp. 277, 373), as follows: "following the midwater of Tame [from Ashton southwards] to Mere-clowe [otherwise Denton Brook] at Reddish, and following Mereclough [and a branch northwardly] as far as Salter's gate [leading to Windmill Lane], and from there following the ditch of Reddish [along Thorneley Lane] to Mikle [otherwise Muchil] diche, and following that [westwards] to Peat-ingate [now Pink Pank Lane], and following that [southwards] to the Turre [or Turf] pits between Heaton Norris and Reddish [near Broadstone Road], and from there following Mere Brooke [southwards] to

[Grime's-botham, near] the conjunction of the Tame with the Mersey."

Reddish thus had artificial boundaries on east, north, and west. On the east, at the south end of Thorneley Lane, stands the "Blue Stone," otherwise called "the Mere Stone," at a small rectangular bend, where the ancient Salter's gate or road crosses into Denton. Pink Pank Lane was, according to tradition, made by the Romans, and at the south end of it stood "The Broad Stone."

Heaton Norris.*

Passing over Levenshulme, the artificial line of Burnage Lane, with a number of rectangular boundary indentations, forms the south-west boundary of Heaton Norris, and an artificial line parallel with Burnage Lane is its north-west boundary, and runs for three thousand seven hundred and fifty feet from Cringle brook on the north to Shaw brook on the south. At a point seven hundred and fifty feet short of its north end that line is crossed at right angles by a lane running from Burnage Lane to Stockport Road. East of the three thousand seven hundred and fifty feet line there is, at a distance of one thousand feet, another line parallel with it and three thousand two hundred feet long, extending from the cross lane southwards to a tributary of the Shaw brook.

At the south end of the space enclosed by these two long parallel lines stands the enigmatic "Peel Moat." It is a perfect square, with its sides facing the cardinal points reckoned sunwise. The outer sides of the moat measure

*In 1212 Heaton Norris was assessed as two ploughlands. In 1282 Robert Grelly, lord of Manchester, held half in demesne and the other half, 8 oxgangs, in bondage, the bondsman paying 20*s.* rent, 24 hens at Christmas worth 2*s.*, and eight score of eggs at Easter worth 6*d.* (*Victoria History*).

two hundred and twenty feet, and the sides of the central platform are half that length, viz., one hundred and ten feet.* The centre of the platform is exactly midway between Burnage Lane and Stockport Road, being two thousand four hundred and fifty feet distant from each, and that distance is precisely the same as from Stockport Road at Broom Lane to Pink Pank Lane.

The moat is deep as well as broad, and it is very doubtful if it was ever filled with water. The soil thereabouts is clay, the land contour round about is too flat to supply water for the moat, and no drain from it is apparent. The oaks growing in the moat show that it is long since it was filled with water if ever that was the case. The

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* The platform had thus a certain similarity to the square *actus*, which measured one hundred and twenty feet on each side; and the outside and inside dimensions of the moat almost coincided with the dimensions of the *jugerum*, which were one hundred and twenty feet in breadth and two hundred and forty feet in length. In *Old Halls of Lancashire and Cheshire* (p. 125), Mr. Henry Taylor stated that the common size for moats round halls is about two hundred and seventy feet by two hundred and forty feet, but that they are often quite square. At Harden Hall, near Stockport, the square is two hundred and seventy-nine feet, and at Broad Oak, Torkington (also near Stockport), it is two hundred and nineteen feet, but in each of these instances the platform is not placed in the centre, the moat varying in width on each side of the platform. The quadration is suggestive of a Roman origin, because the Celts made rounded enclosures. The "orientation" of the moats round halls varies, and is seldom true to the cardinal points. It seems possible that these moats and platforms were originally landmarks, but were utilised at a later date as sites for residences. South of the conjectured survey base (Clayton Hall—castrum—Flixton), Trafford Old Hall is on the first half-rhomb line; Withington Old Hall is on the fourth half-rhomb line; Hyde Hall, Denton, is on the fifth half-rhomb line; and Peel Moat is on the sixth half-rhomb line; while, north of the same survey base, Barton Old Hall is at the intersection of the first rhomb line north and the fourth rhomb line west, so that of all the old moated halls close to Manchester, Ordsal Hall alone stands aloof from a rhomb or half-rhomb line. The adoption of excavated landmarks may have been due to the absence of stone in the locality. There was probably some occult reason why the width of some of these moats varied on their several sides.

large amount of excavated material from the moat has been carefully removed, and has not been formed into a defensive rampart nor used to raise the platform surface. This removal of the excavated soil has helped to prevent the moat from being filled up, and the removal may have been effected with that object, if this was originally a landmark. The situation is not adapted for the purposes of defence. It is not on an eminence. The ground round about is level, and only begins to slope near Shaw brook, and that slope is natural and gentle. The moat is much broader and deeper than would be necessary to protect cattle from wolves.

There is a vague tradition of a building having formerly stood on the platform, from which circumstance the place obtained its name of Peel, but no trace now remains of any such building.* It seems fairly certain that if there ever was a building it was destroyed long before 1750, but the apparent age of the oak trees, one of which in 1861 measured "seven feet in circumference at five feet from the ground," would not preclude the possibility of a building having stood there about 1650. There is, however, no known record of any family from 1200 onwards having had such a residence in Heaton Norris, and its destruction in the comparatively recent Cromwellian days could hardly have passed unrecorded, when Manchester was besieged as well as Withenshaw Hall, Stockport Castle was razed, and soldiers were buried at Didsbury.

Attention should, however, be called to a peculiar kind of causeway in the eastern side of the moat. It slopes down from the south-east *corner* (not the side) of the platform and at first points towards the south-east corner of the moat, but when half-way across the moat it turns

* The facts and traditions concerning Peel Moat are given in the Appendix.

sharply to the north and runs along the centre of the moat, falling gradually to the level of the moat bottom at a point level with the north side of the platform, where it is met by another sharper slope coming from the north-east corner of the moat. It is too narrow for a cartway. It is circuitous for mankind or cattle, and is ridiculous from any strategic point of view.

Excavations hereafter may throw some light on the construction and object of this causeway, and may show whether the platform contained an agrimensorial mark such as an incised or raised cross mark with its arms to the cardinal points, or an *arca* with *instructura*, and the moat may yield remains of former periods, and this it ought to do in abundance if ever the platform was inhabited.

Space forbids a further examination of the remaining townships within the old Manchester parish, although as originally prepared this paper dealt with each in turn, with references to the oldest records of their boundaries, &c.

Conclusion.

From the foregoing partial examination it will be seen that the shape of the townships is much less haphazard than is commonly supposed. It was based on a system, partly of natural divisions, with a probable relation to a partial occupation of the territory on a tribal system prior to the Roman invasion. The artificial divisions are remarkably systematic, and of these the long extended rubicons formed by Mickle Ditch and Carr Ditch are most remarkable of all.

The variation in size of the townships* was seemingly

* There seems to be no rule as to size, but the following breadths or dimensions from east to west may be noted: Kirkmanshulme is the same as Levenshulme from Stockport Road to Pink Pank Lane; Hulme (along

due to an original difference in the area of arable land within each taxation district, and in some cases to a union* (long subsequent in date) of two or more original areas, such as Trafford with Stretford, and Clayton with Droylsden. The determining factor of the taxation *fundus* was arable, and it is very significant that at the dawn of known history two such typical townships as Urmston and Reddish were assessed as one ploughland each. The order-loving Romans invariably surveyed and divided their land for taxation, and the divisions so created by them certainly endured during the centuries of their imperial rule, and after the Roman army left, the invading hordes of later date were incapable of improving the system they found already in vogue, and no record exists of their having made any attempt of the kind.

The actual presence of a vast Roman population is quite unnecessary, nor is it even probable. The organisation

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City Road) is the same as Rusholme south of Mickle Ditch from Wilmslow Road to Slade Lane; Clayton is practically the same as Levenshulme from Slade Lane to Pink Pank Lane; Rusholme north of Mickle Ditch and along that ditch is the same as Reddish from the south end of Pink Pank Lane to the river Tame.

*Failsworth is an interesting instance of the reverse, that is, of an entity preserving its identity notwithstanding divided ownership at a very early date. The division of ownership there was evidently antique, because in 6 Richard I. (1193-4) the share of Robert de Prestwich in Failsworth was held *in thanage* (Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, p. 85). In 1212 Robert de Buron held "a moiety of Failsworth to wit two bovates," part of the demesne of Robert Grelley, lord of Manchester (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, *Lancashire Inquests*, p. 56; Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, n.s., vol. xvii., p. 41), and at the same time Gilbert de Nocton held of Adam de Prestwich the above-mentioned two thanage bovates in Failsworth (*ibid*, p. 67). According to these records Failsworth was then rated at half a ploughland. About the same time, between 1199 and 1212, Cockersand Abbey (*Chartulary*, Chetham Society, n.s., vol. 43, pp. 708-9) received from the Byrons a grant of land in Failsworth, of which one of the landmarks was "the oxgangs of the Vill" (*usque ad bovatas villae*), thus revealing the original arable equipment of the original *villa* or *fundus*. Urmston and Hulme are other instances of identity preserved after the ownership was divided at very early dates.

was Roman, and here and there no doubt Roman officials may have had residences outside the walls of the towns where their duties had to be performed, and in the towns there were Roman garrisons, though they were often only Roman in name, and in the case of Manchester the garrison were mostly Frisians (some being Swiss and Tyrolese), who spoke very probably more of their native Teutonic language than Latin. Each *villa* or *fundus* probably belonged to a Roman, but even so it was managed for him by a *villicus* or steward, who was often little better than a slave, and who was in charge of the quota of natives, who cultivated the area and were grouped in tens called *decuriæ* under a *decurio*,* so that the absence of remains of numerous houses with hypocausts and other evidences of Roman civilisation is in no way remarkable.

No claim is made to originality or finality in the theory here set forth; its examination was undertaken in consequence of a private suggestion made several years ago by Mr. Joshua Bury, the agent and surveyor for the Clowes estates, that the "Camps" and "Castles" dotted about

* Portions of the *villa* or estate were sometimes let out to freedmen to farm under a *decuria* or set of ten slaves, and this freedman paid rent in produce. Ten servile holdings under a *villicus* or *decanus* were called a *decania*, which was the smallest usual territorial division, and was the very possible and probable origin of our tithings. The best *coloni* were *indigeni*, born on the estate and bound by hereditary ties to it, who shared the produce, and thus had a joint interest with their *dominus* or lord in its prosperity (see Columella, *De Re Rustica*, i. vii; Seebohm, *English Village Community*, pp. 263-6). In Manchester parish there were two *Chorl* tons; in 1317 an oxgang in Urmston was owned by the son of William *the sergeant* (see Urmston *ante*); and in 1320 the *villani* of Gorton included Henry the Reeve, who was *nativus domini* et *sanguinis* (Tait, *Mediæval Manchester*, p. 26; Harland, *Mamecestre*, p. 279), and at the same time a Trafford held an oxgang of land in Withington as reeve or constable of the Withington boonworkers (Tait, *ibid*, pp. 28-9; *Mamecestre*, pp. 377-8). We thus have three instances of oxgangs held by persons in an official capacity.

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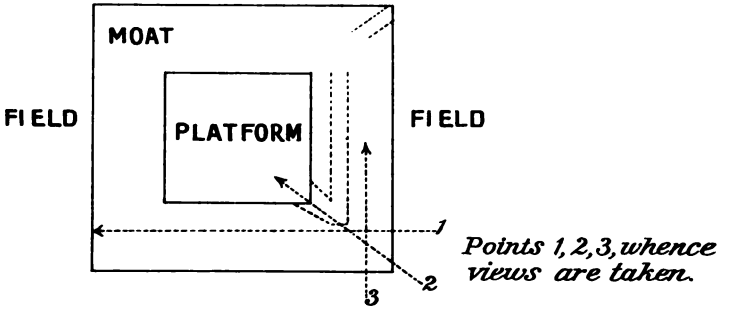
PEEL MOAT, HEATON NORRIS.



1. Looking West along South side of Moat.

those estates in Broughton, Kersal, and Mode Wheel were agrimensorially related to the Manchester castrum, and to the Stretford Great Stone and to the Bow Stones* on Whaley Moor. The closer this suggestion was tested the more cogent became the probability of an agrimensorial origin and purpose, and the result is here in part set out, so that others better qualified may pursue the attempt to lift the veil of so many centuries of complete oblivion.

APPENDIX.

Peel Moat, Heaton Norris.

The facts and traditions concerning Peel Moat are as follow. The earliest mention is dated May 4th, 1748, when the Didsbury Church registers record the burial of "John Hulme of Didsbury from ye Peel." About that time those registers show that there were at least ten John Hulmes living in the Didsbury chapelry, and they were, therefore, distinguished by epithets, such as of Didsbury, of Heaton Norris, of Burnage, &c. This "John Hulme of Didsbury" apparently died at the Peel, but "the Pell" was a term often broadly applied to the locality, even so far as half a mile away to the south, at the brow in the road passing Mauldeth Hall gates. This spread of the name, from the place itself to the locality, may indicate the former importance of the Peel, but the age of the *oaks* growing in the very moat itself as well as on the platform (one in 1861 was seven feet in circumference at five feet from the ground),† precludes the

* See Coote, *Romans of Britain*, p. 98, where the Bow Stones are described as trifinial terminal stones.

† As the oak thrives comparatively well in a clay soil, the Director of Kew Gardens is of opinion that this oak was probably planted between 1650 and 1700.

existence of any house at Peel Moat in 1748, or the moat having then been filled with water. The trees are shown on the ordnance survey, 1845. The Didsbury registers make no other mention of the Peel.

On March 20th, 1856, in the *Manchester Guardian*, the late John Harland, F.S.A., mentioned "an ancient British encampment near Stockport, the moat of which is still visible, which the country people call the Peel." He added, "tradition hands down a legend of an erection of venerable appearance. Its destruction has been ascribed to 'Owd Oliver,' meaning Cromwell. It has been said that a silver tankard was found in a hedge bank, which was being cleared out over half a century ago [about 1800], and it was delivered to the proper owner." If so the tankard had evidently not been lost long!

In 1857 Booker's *History of Didsbury Chapel*, p. 183, simply echoes Mr. Harland, and in another part of the book is extracted the burial entry of 1748 above cited.

On December 14th, 1861, in the *Ashton Reporter*, John Higson (author of *History of Gorton*, &c.) describes his visit to the spot (see Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. xvii., p. 224). He found "a slightly elevated [?] central plot of land, measuring about thirty-two yards [strides, according to a letter he wrote to Mr. Baird in September, 1861] square, and level to the edge of a fosse or moat, which entirely surrounds it. At present its depth varies from two to three yards, but there is evidence [*sed quære*] of deeper original cutting, for in the lowest portion we thrust down a walking stick as far as the handle would permit into the marshy soft earth [in September] without reaching the bottom. So moist is the filled up adventitious earth that clusters of sedges exist in a flourishing condition. The area enclosed by the moat [as well as the moat itself] and a strip of

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PEEL MOAT, HEATON NORRIS.

2. Looking North-west from South-east corner and showing part of causeway.

3. Looking North along East side of Moat and showing ridge of causeway in centre.

adjoining land is planted with trees. One oak measures seven feet in circumference at five feet from the ground, and there are also specimens of ash, willow, poplar, and sycamore, and the stumps remain of others cut down at various times. The ferns, hazels, and brambles had recently been cut off or badged with an old scythe. Within the memory [*sed quære*] of aged persons the moat had a considerable depth of water in it, but this has been drained off and rubbish thrown into it. We rooted up several *fragments* of large-sized bricks, which seemed to confirm a tradition related by an old man, who had known the spot from his youth. He described it as being, when he was a lad [about 1800?], a very rough place, partially overgrown with underwood, ruinous and uncultivated, with *vestiges of brick foundations* within the area [or platform]. The tradition, which another old man has since confirmed, ascribes the destruction of the building to 'Owd Oliver' (Cromwell), though what it was like or for what purpose intended the legend has failed to perpetuate. Hitherto [between September and December, 1861] our inquiries for further information have been fruitless." He adds, "Since writing the above we have met with an old woman [born about 1790?] who said that her father [born about 1750?] often asserted that when young he had heard it reported that 'the place was let in by a storm,' or, as others had it, 'by an earthquake.'"

Mr. Higson's family do not find that he left any further record, except a rough diagram with figured dimensions of the bottom widths of the moat. If these aged memories are reliable it is evident that about 1748, when "John Hulme, of Didsbury, from ye Peel" was buried, there was no occupied house at Peel Moat, and that even then there was only a vague tradition of a building having stood

there. The old man's description of "vestiges of brick foundations" (existing about 1800?) must be taken in conjunction with Mr. Higson's observation that rubbish had been thrown into the moat, and the only real fact is that in 1861 Mr. Higson found "fragments of some large-sized bricks." There is nothing, however, to show that these had not formed part of rubbish brought from elsewhere.

In 1625 the size of bricks was regulated by an order of Charles I., and in 1724 the *London Gazette* contained an order of the Tilers and Bricklayers' Company that every brick was to be 9in. long, 4¼in. broad, and 2¼in. thick. In the eighteenth century, however, large bricks were made for footings and foundations, and some for a mill at Ashton-under-Lyne were 14in. long, 4½in. broad, and 3in. thick; and some in a building in St. Ann's Square, Manchester, which formed internal walls, were 14×7×4, and weighed 28lbs., and similar bricks were found at Aldport, Manchester. A very common size for old bricks was 8¼in. long by 4⅛in. broad by 2in. thick (*Manchester City News Notes and Queries*, viii., Nos. 5,737, 5,750, 5,778).

On August 7th, 1874, in the *Stockport Advertiser*, E. H. quoted Mr. Harland and Mr. Booker, and mentioned "the discovery of *blocks of red sandstone and* large-sized bricks, the remains of a curious pavement, and also the top part of a stone carving, by the late Dr. Thomas, of [Shaw Brook Lodge,] Burnage." E. H. adds: "it has also been said a family named Peel once inhabited the castle [but no one named Peel was baptised, married, or buried at Didsbury between 1561 and 1757], and that the head of the family was married at the Old Church, [Manchester], in the fifteenth [*sic*] century. In addition to this, Mr. Owen, the antiquarian, has discovered in the registers of the Old Church, Manchester, the record of a

burial of a person from the Peel, Heaton Norris (MSS.)."

Thus, even in 1874 the printed facts as above stated had become muddled. The burial of John Hulme "from ye Peel" in 1748 was transferred from Didsbury to Manchester, where there are entries relating to "the Peel *in Cheetham*," but not to the Peel in Heaton. Mr. Owen has extracted these Cheetham Peel entries in his MSS.

A vain endeavour has been made to trace or learn more about the remains found by Dr. Thomas. In collecting these notices I have been helped by Mr. John Baird, of Didsbury, and they seem to embrace all that has been printed on the subject. Excavations, as authorised by the landowner, Earl Egerton, are very desirable. The blocks of red sandstone may have faced the platform sides of the moat as seems to have been often the case, and the large-sized bricks may have been the foundations of a building if ever there was one on the platform.

AN ANCIENT SCULPTURED STONE IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY JOSEPH J. PHELPS

BEFORE attempting to describe any investigations or express any opinion as to the date of the stone which is the subject of this paper, it will be advisable to recount the facts regarding its discovery and recent history.

When the ancient south porch of the Cathedral was taken down in the spring of 1871, a curious carved stone was found built into the wall a little above the level of the ground, and in fair preservation. Mr. Crowther, in his work on *The Collegiate Church of Manchester*, says, p. 8: "There is a strong probability that it formed part of the tympanum of an old Saxon doorway, probably the south doorway of the nave of the ancient Saxon church." Referring to the porch, he says: "Some of the ashlar stones, worked with an axe instead of a chisel, which were found in the porch and other places, may possibly be of Norman date, but they have more the character of Saxon workmanship, and I am of opinion, from their peculiar characteristic projections, that they were used as light quoins of the herringbone kind as

Size of stone, 8¾in. by 13¼in.

ANCIENT SCULPTURED STONE IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

From a photograph by Mr. Wm. Ellis.

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long and short work,"* and in another part of the same work he states that there is "strong evidence that a church constructed of stone had existed on the present site even in Saxon times."

Mr. Robert Langton considered the sculpture to be Saxon work, and that it may have formed part of one of the imposts of the chancel arch as at Bradford-on-Avon.† Mr. Langton says, "The stone is from the local Collyhurst quarry; it measures thirteen and a quarter inches long by eight and three-quarter inches wide, and is from five and a half to seven inches thick, its weight being about thirty-nine pounds."

There is not much decay due to weathering, but considerable damage has been done by rough usage. On the right side and base, the stone has been chiselled in herring-bone fashion with some kind of pointed tool, and on the left it has been roughly cut with a curved chisel of seven-eighths of an inch or one inch in width; the top and back are rough, the lower surface of the face has been broken away under the inscription. It was illustrated by Robert Langton in *Local Gleanings* for January, 1880, and also by J. Croston in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, 1889, vol. ii., p. 36. It is interesting to compare the work of these two artists with the stone, or a good photograph.

Although the inscription had not been deciphered at the time the engravings were made, the care bestowed upon their production by both Croston and Langton is apparent, for there is very little difference in the delineation of the lettering. Croston gives an enlarged sketch of the inscription below the woodcut, but it is meaningless, for it happens to be the wrong way up, and scratches are made to appear as parts of the letters; yet,

* See *The Cathedral Church of Manchester*, by Crowther, pp. 8, 9; 1893.
† *Local Gleanings*, January, 1880.

when the engraving itself is looked at in a proper manner, the inscription can be easily read. I say *easily*, because great light has now been thrown upon that part of the subject, and I am glad to say we are indebted to two Manchester gentlemen for it.

A paper was read before this Society by the Rev. H. A. Hudson, M.A., and printed in the *Transactions* for 1896,* wherein a translation by Canon E. L. Hicks is fully explained. The inscription had previously been submitted to several learned epigraphists, but their readings were unsatisfactory and unconvincing.

The stone is now in the safe custody and one of the prized possessions of the Dean and Canons of Manchester Cathedral, thanks to the exertions of our member, the Rev. H. A. Hudson, M.A., before named, for until he took the matter in hand it lay in a Manchester office. During any future alterations in the Cathedral all sculptured stones or fragments should be very carefully examined by some competent archæologist, for, no doubt, much information yet lies hidden.

Having thus outlined the known history of this curious relic of Christian art, I will endeavour to explain certain points which may perhaps throw further light upon the subject, or induce others to investigate the matter, in order that some satisfactory conclusion may be reached.

The questions which naturally occur are: To what period of Manchester history does it belong? What does the subject of the sculpture mean? and What can we learn from it? An adequate answer seems rather hopeless, but that the stone has a meaning and a purpose there can be no doubt. To arrive at this, some system of analysis is necessary, in order to obtain a possible clue on which

* Vol. xiv., page 62.

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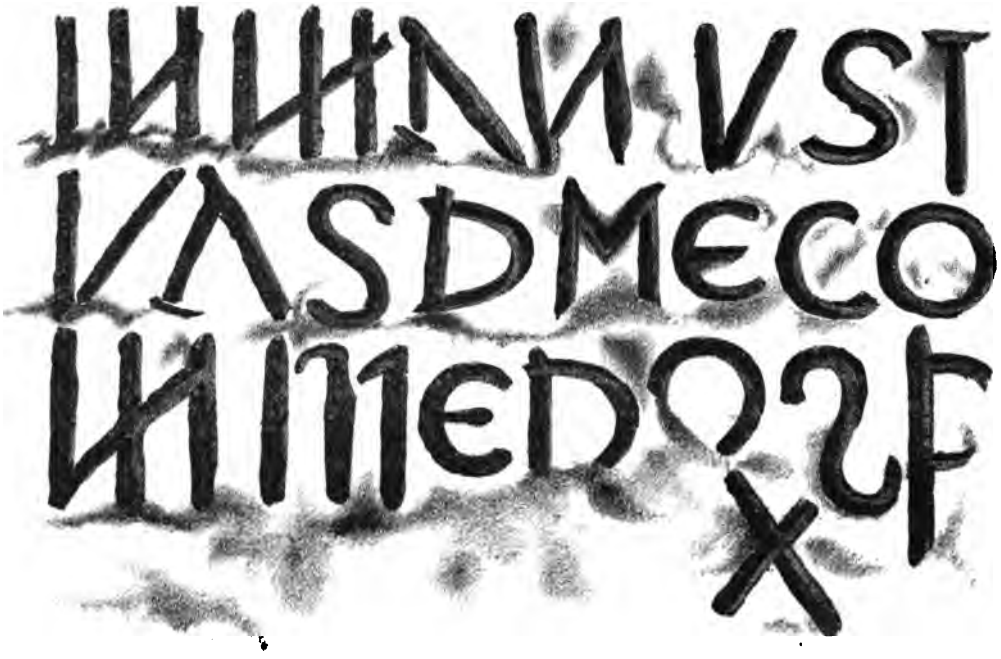

SKETCH OF INSCRIPTION.

some hypothesis may be founded, and further evidence sought in support of it.

At first, the sculpture representing an angel holding a scroll impresses one as being somewhat rude and barbarous in execution, but the general character of the work suggests a pre-Norman date. Norman architectural remains do not occur in our Cathedral, and the style and palæography of this fragment seem too crude for the early Gothic, or later periods of art.

With regard to the first inquiry, as to its period, there seems no doubt that it dates from those pre-Conquest times generally known as Anglo-Saxon, for the following reasons. Briefly, it has all the stiff archaic appearance of the sculpture of that era in Britain. One wing of the angel is raised at an awkward angle behind the head, which is characteristic of early work, and very noticeable in the stone sculpture representing two angels in the Saxon church of Bradford-on-Avon, this peculiarity of arrangement also occurs in the representation of angels in early illuminated MSS. The dress, showing the tunic and outer cloak, is the well-known costume of that age; the hands are represented as being abnormally large, in the art of the period named this is a usual fault, for even in some of the finest illuminated Anglo-Saxon MSS. this defect in the drawing of the hands and feet of figures is of such common occurrence, that it suggests deliberate intention. The head is facing outwards, and has no nimbus; the damaged face is crude and expressionless. The shoulder has the characteristic Anglo-Saxon hump-like curve; the scroll is straight and stiff, and has not the flowing lines of later work. The letters forming the inscription are of a debased Roman type, and some of them are of a form seen in early MSS. I refer more especially to the A, E, U, P, and M.

Having briefly stated my general reasons for ascribing the work to the period named, we may examine in detail the various points. First, then, the inscription, so ably deciphered by Canon Hicks.

It will be noted that the scroll is too small to contain all the words, which pass beyond the rolled up end, and spread themselves over a portion of the surrounding space. There are in all, three lines of equal length, the first letters of each beginning exactly underneath one another, and all end at the edge of the curved fracture, without the loss of a single character. Canon Hicks' translation reads: "In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum" (*meum* understood), "Into Thy hands O Lord I commend (my) spirit." That translation cannot, I think, be refuted. Having, therefore, a satisfactory rendering of the inscription, can anything be learnt from its palæography? I mentioned earlier several letters, which appeared to me to be peculiarly Anglo-Saxon. The two A's are without crossbars, and are shown as This ancient character is found in our oldest Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. A lengthy list might be compiled of the occurrence of this barless A in old script, but perhaps the examples shown on plate A, indicating slight variations, may suffice.

In late Saxon the or form was used, and is so inscribed on a slab in the church of St. Nicholas, Ipswich, and on various other slabs of the period; it occurs also on a curious Anglo-Saxon pewter cross found at Bath,* and on a sundial at Kirkdale Church, Yorkshire, wrought by priests in the 11th century (1055-65).

The Greek epsilon form of the letter E, viz., , is alone

*See "Notes on the Saxon Cross found at Bath, July, 1898," by C. E. Davis, F.S.A.

PLATE A.

In Utrecht Psalter (W. de G. Birch, *Hist. of Utrecht Psalter*).

In Edwin's Psalter—Trin. Coll., Cambridge (Westwood's *Pal. Sacra Pict.*).

In Harley Psalter (W. de G. Birch, *Hist. of Utrecht Psalter*).

In Athelstan's Psalter (Westwood's *Miniatures*, plate xxxii.).

In S. Augustine's Psalter (Westwood's *Pal. Sacra Pict.*).

In Latin Psalter (*Arch. Cambrensis*, vol. i., p. 117).

In Coronation Oath Book of Anglo-Saxon Kings (Westwood's *Pal. Sacra Pict.*).

Palatin Virgil MS., No. 1,631, in Vatican Library, written in 4th or 5th century (Astle, plate vii., p. 80).

In Florence Virgil 498 A.D. (Astle, plate vii., p. 80).

In a very ancient MS. in the Royal Library, Paris No. 8,084 (Astle, plate vii., p. 80).

Occurs in the two MSS. which St. Gregory the Great sent to England by St. Augustine in the 6th century (Astle, p. 83).

In Strutt's *Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*.

On Saxon coins (as Edgar, 959–975 A.D.).

In "The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold," 10th century (*Archæologia*, 1832).

used in the inscription and occurs twice; it appears to have been in common use in Anglo-Saxon times. It occurs in MSS. and lapidary inscriptions.* On the Kirkdale sundial may be seen both the Roman E and Greek ϵ forms. Saxon ecclesiastics, having derived much of their early culture from Byzantium, continued conversant with both the Greek and Latin languages, and we find them not only using Greek letters,† but mixed Greek and Latin words in their inscriptions; they made frequent use of the alpha and omega, the ☧ or ꝑ contraction for Christos; XPS also occurs on Welsh slabs, and sometimes Θεος for Deus.

The letter U is the Roman V form; it occurs twice, and is common to the period named.

The P in the contraction for "spiritum" is of an early type, the loop of the letter being on the line, and the stem carried below it. This form may also be seen in early MSS., and also the carrying upwards of the stem beyond the loop, as in the D and P.

The T is of the Roman shape; in late Saxon the Lombardic or Gothic ⊂ was often used.

The letter S occurs three times; two are of the usual shape and one is reversed, as on the Dewsbury epitaph, &c.

The N, which occurs twice, is also reversed; a common variant, as on the Gnoll stone near Neath, and on the

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* See Astle's *Origin of Writing;* Westwood's *Pal. Sacra. Pict.;* Strutt's *Anglo-Saxon Antiquities;* Cross of Grutne, Margam; Llantwit crosses and various inscribed stones in Wales; "Benedictional of St. Ethelwold;" Bath pewter cross; Dewsbury epitaph, &c.

† "In the Gospels of St. Chad is a Latin entry written in mixed Greek, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon letters."—*Pal. Sacra Pict.*, Westwood. "The Lord's Prayer in the Book of Armagh is written in Greek and Roman letters mixed with Irish uncials."—*Pal. Sacra Pict.*, Westwood. "O Agios Matthæus occurs in Lindisfarne Gospels."—Rawnsley on *Bede Mont.*

Llaniltern stones in Wales, &c. In shape it somewhat resembles the runic character used for S. This reversed form of the letter N is exceedingly ancient and is found on Etruscan monuments.

The letter M occurs four times. Once as a debased Roman capital, once as a minuscule-shaped capital * and twice of a form that I was previously unacquainted with, viz., three upright lines connected by an oblique bar ; occurring twice, it was evidently no freak or slip of the chisel of the sculptor. In the course of search amongst early Anglian inscriptions, lapidary and manuscript, for parallel forms of letters for comparison with those on this stone, I noticed in an illustration forming one of a series in Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliae*, a similar form of the letter M, viz., three upright lines joined by a *horizontal* crossbar. It occurred four times in an inscription on a monument, called the Cross of St. Illtyd (sometimes also called the Cross of St. Samson), at Llantwit in Glamorgan.† At the same place there is also another inscribed stone, called the Pillar of Samson,‡ on which a similar letter occurs. It appears again with a slight variation on the Vaenor stone, Brecknockshire, and on the inscribed stone of Catamanus Rex, (or Cadvan) of the 7th century at Langadwaladr.§ On the latter stone there are no less than four variations of

* This form occurs as a capital in MSS. up to the 9th century. See MS. in Royal Library (8th century) (Astle, p. 107, tab. xix., fig. 7). Baeda upon Canonical Epistles in Bodleian Library (Astle, plate xix., p. 106). Book of Four Evangelists, *circa* A.D. 686, in Cottonn. Library, Nero D.IV. (Astle, plate xiv., p. 96).

† St. Samson was an early British ecclesiastic who died in the 6th century.

‡ A namesake of the former, *circa* A.D. 840-50.

§ Professor Petrie, R.H.A., V.P.R.I.A., Mona Mediaevia Archa. Cambrensis, 1846, vol. i., p. 165.

it, viz., ; the Greek Ε occurs also. A similar type of M occurs on a stone situated on the south-east side of the road from Newborough to Llangaffo.* The above five examples are in Wales, but the use of this peculiar letter was not confined to that part of Britain only. It is interesting to note what Professor Westwood says in reference to Llantwit: "Before the expiration of the 4th century a body of Christians was established here under the protection of the Emperor Theodosius, and before the close of the 5th century St. Iltyd or Iltutus, to whom the church is dedicated, arrived here in company with Germanus. . . . A school or college was then founded for the instruction of those youths who should afterwards be called upon to fill the important offices of the Church, and thus arose the first Christian school of this description in the island of Britain."† This curious and rare form of the letter M attracted the special attention of Professor Westwood, and he has tabulated some instances of its occurrence. He says in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. i., p. 303, when writing an article on the Langadwaladr stone: "The manner of forming the M by three upright strokes is very old, but this is the first time I have seen it thus made in respect to the oblique bars." He then gives a list of the ancient forms of the letter M, taken from an essay he intended publishing on the modification of the forms of the letters in our oldest monuments. Further, he says: "The circumstance which led me to pay more attention to this peculiar form of M . . . is, that throughout the whole range of Roman inscriptions no such form occurs; in fact, in all early Greek and Roman inscriptions up to the fourth

* *Archa. Camb.*, 1846, vol. i., p. 429.
† *Lapidarium Walliæ* (Westwood), p. 8.

century the typical form of M consists of two straight perpendicular or oblique lines united together by a V or U." He agrees with Astle, and the Benedictines, that its origin is found amongst the Etruscan, Oscan, and Pelasgic alphabets as given by them.

In Westwood's list it appears that three varieties of the letter occur in the Gospels of Lindisfarne, and also in the Book of St. Chad, two on the Llantwit stones, two in the Cotton MSS., two in the Biblia Regis, and two in the *N. Tr. de Diplom.** Thirteen of the letters on the Manchester stone occur in almost exactly the same form as on the Llantwit stones, and the small cross also, which is placed at the end of the inscription.†

After a long and tedious search through thousands of illustrations of various kinds, I can only find four other instances outside Wales, excepting Manchester, of the occurrence of this peculiar "Pelasgian" letter M in lapidary inscriptions. It recurs in England twice on a stone preserved at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, which can be assigned with some certainty to the beginning of the 8th century, probably about 705 A.D., and also on a stone found at Jarrow, and now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle.‡

In Scotland it is found four times on a cross slab at Tarbat, Ross,§ probably of the 8th century, and no less than eight times on the Ruthwell cross, Annandale, Dumfries. In this latter case there are at least five or six varieties of form, due to the apparent optional use, or placing of

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* *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique.*

† A further point is, that on the Pillar of Samson at Llantwit, the same design of intersecting loops and rings occurs which is seen on the early Anglian cross (fragment) found at Eccles, and now at Owens College. This design also appears on the Halton and Whalley crosses.

‡ See *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii., plates cxvi. and cxvii., p. 65.

§ Romilly Allen's *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 94.

NO.		DATE.
13.	*Codex Rushworthianus* (Macregol dipinxit). Bodl. Lib., Oxford. D 24, No. 3,946 Astle, p. 99, plate xvi.	7th c.
	Book of St. Chad. (See No. 5.) Westwood, *Archa. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 303	7th to 8th c.
	Archbishop Ussher's Gospels at Dublin. Westwood, *Archa. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 303	6th to 7th c.
	Gospels of St. Moling. Saec vii. 690 A.D. Westwood, *Archa. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 303	7th c.
	Book of Kells. 650–690. Westwood, *Archa. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 303	7th c.
	MS. of St. Gall. Westwood's *Miniatures*, plate xxvi., p. 62	8th or 9th c.
14.	*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique.* Plate xx., vol. ii., p. 312	—
15.	*Textus Scti. Cuthberti.* (See Nos. 5, 10, and 11)	7th c.
	Four Gospels in Royal Lib. (See also 25.) (1 B 7.) Astle, p. 97, plate xviii.	8th c.
16.	*Etruscan.* This form with rounded tops appears as a capital letter in the following and other MSS.:—	
	Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. (See Nos. 5 and 14)	6th c.
	Textus Sancti Cuthberti. (See Nos. 5, 10, 11, and 15)	7th c.
	MS. in Royal Lib. (5 F 3.) Astle, p. 107, tab. xix., fig. 7	8th to 9th c.
	Baeda. MS. upon the Canonical Epistles. Bodl. Lib. Supra D, Art. five. Med. 3. A.D. 818. Astle, plate xix., p. 106	9th c.
17.	*Ruthwell Cross.* (See No. 5)	7th c.
	Bishop Moore's Book of Prayers. Westwood's *Miniatures*, plate xxiv., p. 43	8th c.
	Llangaffo. Similar, but bars oblique. *Archa. Camb.*, 1846, p. 429	—
	Gospels of the Cathedral of Treves. Westwood's *Miniatures*, plate xix., p. 74	8th c.
18.	*St. Moling's Gospels at Dublin.* Saec vii. Westwood, *Archa. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 303; also *Palaeo. Sacra. Pict.* (See No. 13)	7th c.
19.	*Book of St. Chad.* Centre line omitted, or copy of Runic M. Westwood, *Archa. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 303. (See Nos. 5 and 13)	7th c.
20.	*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique.* Westwood, *Archa. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 303. (See No. 10)	—
21.	*Ruthwell Cross.* (See Nos. 5 and 17)	7th c.
	Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. (Otho, C 5.) Cotton. Lib. Astle, plate xv., p. 98	6th to 8th c.
22.	*Ruthwell Cross.* May have had crossbars. (See Nos. 5, 17, and 21)	7th c.
23.	*Ruthwell Cross.* Probably originally as No. 20. (See Nos. 5, 17, 21, and 22)	7th c.
24.	*Bishop Moore's Book of Prayers.* Illum. MS. Cambridge. (See No. 30.) Westwood's *Miniatures*, plate xxiv., p. 43	8th c.
25.	*Ornamental form of No. 15.* From *Four Gospels in Royal Lib.* (1 B 7.) Astle, p. 97, plate xviii.	8th c.
26.	*Ornamental form of No. 11.* From *Book of Four Evangelists*	7th c.
27.	*Ornamental form of No. 10.* From *Latin Gospels in Imp. Lib., Paris.* Westwood's *Miniatures*	9th c.
28.	*Ornamental form of No. 13.* Plate xxvi., Westwood's *Miniatures*	8th or 9th c.
29.	*Ornamental form of No. 5.* From *Book of Four Evangelists*	7th c.
30.	*Ornamental form of No. 24.* From *Bishop Moore's Book of Prayers.* Plate xxiv., Westwood's *Miniatures.* Roman M also used with it	8th c.

NOTE.—None of the above forms appear in Bishop Aldhem's Treatise de Virginitate of the 10th century, in the Archl. Lib., Lambeth; Westwood's *Miniatures*, plate xxxi.; nor in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, a fine illuminated MS. of the 11th century in possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

the transverse bar by the sculptor. The Ruthwell cross is said to date from about the middle of the 7th century (650 A.D.), and it is evident that the "Pelasgian" M was then in frequent use.* There is a remarkable similarity in the character of the lettering on the Alnwick and Jarrow stones and the Ruthwell cross; its superior style, induces one to consider it *later* than the dates given.

I trust I have not dwelt at too great a length on this particular letter, but the fact of its occurrence twice in our inscription demands attention, and some consideration as to the periods during which it was in use, *i.e.*, up to the 9th century according to the conclusions of Astle and Westwood.

I have tabulated in diagram form instances of its occurrence in MSS. and lapidary inscriptions, from which it may be inferred, that it was chiefly in use during the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, and that use, gradually ceased in the 9th. From the diagrams it is interesting to observe that the Manchester or "Angel" stone M is (apparently) unique; it is very similar to No. 10, but the oblique bar is reversed, being in the same direction as the Pelasgian and Oscan, figured in Nos. 2 and 3.

Had this inscription been cut during the Norman or early Gothic periods of art, it would have the Lombardic or Gothic characters then in use, and the peculiar, very rare form of M would certainly have been absent. This I consider has an important bearing upon the argument as to date.

Mr. Romilly Allen says:† "The oldest inscriptions except the oghams are rude copies of the Roman alpha-

* See *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol ii., plates xix., xx., page 12. An excellent cast of this remarkable monument in now in the museum of the School of Art, Cavendish Street.

† *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, p. 81.

bet, most of the letters being of the capital form. The chief peculiarities are, that the size and shape of the letters are not uniform, that the letters are sometimes placed upside down, backwards, or sideways, and that two letters are run together as in the Roman inscriptions. The smaller letters or minuscules were not introduced until about the 6th century, so that when they are found mixed with the capitals it is an indication of later date. The change in the style of writing which began as early as the 6th century went on slowly but continuously."

Various opinions have been expressed regarding this inscription. Canon Isaac Taylor thinks the letters are Anglo-Saxon characters or "Irish" uncials of the 9th or 10th centuries, and that the figure represents St. Michael.* Some authorities (who examined them prior to Canon Hicks) have expressed the opinion that the characters somewhat resembled oghams or runes. It is, however, clear that they are neither runes nor oghams, but Roman capitals of debased type in use in early Anglian inscriptions on stone and occurring in a more or less ornate character, in MSS. of that era. Possibly this inscription was cut by some Anglo-Saxon cleric to whom reading or speaking Latin was more familiar, than skill in inscribing it on stone; but evidently acquainted with the varied forms of certain letters in use in his time. We know books were scarce and precious, but what he had, no doubt contained all the peculiar letters under consideration.

I will not base the assumption that the sculpture is pre-Norman on the inscription alone, but try to find the correlation of the rest of the subject, for the figure

* Baines's *History of Lancashire*, 1889, vol. ii., p. 35. *Local Gleanings*, January, 1880. Paper by the late Robert Langton. Pp. 241, 242, 243.

represents in many ways the peculiarities of the art of that period; noticeably so in the pose and drawing of the various parts, and the strangely humped or rounded shoulder, so often seen in Anglo-Saxon illuminated MSS. and even so late as the Bayeux tapestry. Examples can also be seen in Strutt's *Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* and the *Utrecht Psalter*, where are some vigorous sketches of typical figures. The drapery is the best executed part of the work, doubtless representing the dress of the period. It consists of a loose robe or tunic with sleeves, girded at the waist, and falling in easy folds to just below the knees. It is rather damaged by abrasions, but we can, however, clearly see how far down the dress extended, the angles formed by the lower edges on either side being quite distinct. Similar tunicas may be noted in the illustrations to the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, the Utrecht Psalter, &c. The shoulders are covered with a cloak or mantle, which, judging from the hang of the garment, is fastened on the right shoulder, like the cloak used by the Romans, from whom, no doubt, the style was derived. However, whether this be so or not, the tunic and cloak are well-known forms of Anglo-Saxon dress. Good examples may be seen in the illuminated MS., called the "Books of Moses," illustrated in Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, where Seth and his family may be seen clothed in a similar fashion, and are represented also as having abnormally large hands. It is a remarkable fact that pre-Norman artists were specially clever in their arrangement of drapery; they could generally depict its folds better than they could the figure.* In late Anglo-Saxon art this peculiarity was carried to excess, and a curious serrated or fluttering style of drapery arrangement

* The figures on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses have well-arranged drapery.

was a marked feature.* It will be noticed that the cloak is thoughtfully provided with holes through which the wings emerge, and around the aperture above the left arm of the figure is shown a circular kind of fold.

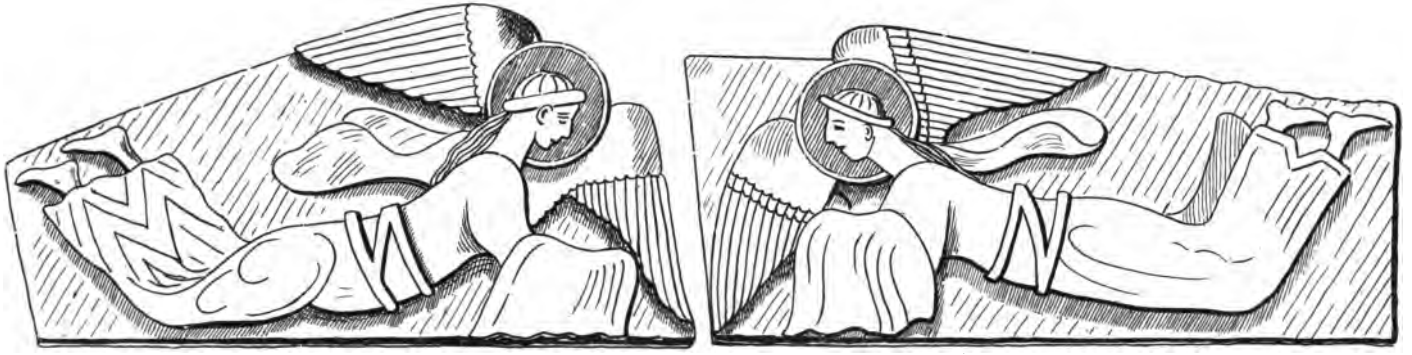
Both the engravings by Croston and Langton show a small pectoral cross suspended from the neck. On the stone itself there is a slight indication of something of the kind, but I fear the evidence of its existence is not strong. Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics and others wore such a cross, small ones of gold, or silver, having been found in their graves. Examples in silver about one and three-quarters of an inch long may be seen in the Liverpool Museum, and one of gold was found on the body of St. Cuthbert at Durham when the grave was opened in 1827. These pectoral crosses are supposed to have sometimes contained relics.

To turn next to the wings and their position. Their stiff formal attitude, is another characteristic of early work, *i.e.*, one of them being raised and placed behind the head, the other being at rest; it appears as though the sculptors and illuminators wished to show both wings complete, but scarcely knew how to do it otherwise. This method is exemplified in the sculptured angels before referred to at Bradford-on-Avon;† in the facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS. in Westwood's *Pal. Sacra Pictoria;*‡ in Strutt's *Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, and also in Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, &c. In many of these examples long straight lines for pinions, and scale or ball-like wing head feathers, may be observed.

* See Romilly Allen's *Christian Symbolism*, p. 160, and Westwood's *Miniatures* (10th century), plate xxxiii.

† See also Romilly Allen's *Christian Symbolism*, p. 245.

‡ See Books of Moses, p. 3, and plate No. 5; also Cottonian Psalter Tiberius cvi., British Museum. Westwood on "Book of Kells," 1843-45, plate 2, shows winged appendages closely resembling those on this angel stone.



THE BRADFORD-ON-AVON ANGELS.
(from a woodcut.)

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In pre-Norman art the uncovered parts of the body, such as the hands and feet, are generally shown as being abnormally large. This is the case, so far as the hands are concerned, in this figure. It is said that this peculiarity was not the fault of the artist, but of the period, and it was not until about the 13th century that any noticeable advance was made in this respect. The hands are exceedingly clumsy, but the sculptor of that time had not the facility in carving the details of figures, such as that acquired by the scribe or illuminator in the use of the pen or brush. Both hands appear to be holding the scroll, one at the top and one lower down. The head, like the hands, is far too large for the size of the body, it should, in proportion, be much smaller. It is crudely carved, and, like early work inspired by Byzantine influence, is full-faced, the eyes being large and staring.

It is important to notice that the head of the angel has no nimbus or halo. I think this should have some consideration in regard to the period of the work. It may be worth mentioning that the nimbus is not an attribute of Christian art alone. We find it surrounding the heads of Greek and Roman pagan deities, and of Hindoo and Buddhist gods in the East. Like the aureole it is essentially pre-Christian. In classic ages it was considered an honour for heroes, to have their portraits painted on a circular golden shield and hung in temples or other holy places. Greek inscriptions decreeing these honours still exist. In full-length portraits a representation of the golden shield was painted behind the head; such pictures have been found in Pompeii and Herculaneum.* The nimbus being of pagan origin, there was

* "When the nimbus is of a square form it indicates that the person was alive when delineated and is affixed as a mark of honour."—*Painting*, Gullick and Timbs, p. 323.

some opposition to its introduction into early Christian art, but after the 11th century it was almost invariably applied to distinguish sacred personages. In early Christian days, it was merely considered a symbol of honour, not specially associated with divinity, or extraordinary sanctity. The first five centuries offer very few examples. In illuminated MSS. of the 6th century the use of the nimbus is very frequent, and it often appears in the frescoes of the 9th century.

In the British Museum, there is a leaf of an exquisitely carved ivory diptych of the 4th century, on which St. Michael appears holding a staff in his left hand, and an orb surmounted with a cross in his right (symbols of the power and dominion of Christianity), *but he is not nimbed.* There is also a very early Italian figure of St. Michael standing on a dragon in the South Kensington Museum. This figure also is not nimbed.* In the 5th century we first find the Virgin Mary nimbed and also various saints. Previous to the 5th century, angels were almost invariably represented without the nimbus, but during the mediæval period it became usual to add it. St. Michael is represented in Saxon work in the church of St. Nicholas at Ipswich, without a nimbus. In the 7th century Latin Gospels (No. 286, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), there is a miniature depicting an un-nimbed angel appearing to Zacharias, as described in St. Luke, chapter i., verse 11.† The figures on the Celtic cross at Castledermot, Co. Kildare, are not nimbed, nor are those on an early sculptured slab at Wirksworth, the cross of SS. Patrick and Columba at Kells, the cross at Llanegan, or on the Moon Abbey cross. On Eyam cross

* See Venturi's *Storia della Arte Italiana*, vol. iii., p. 383.
† Palæographical Society, *Publications*, 1873-83, vol. ii., pl. xliv.

there are ten angels, and eight of them are not nimbed, but most of the figures on the Sandbach cross *are* nimbed, and so are the Bradford-on-Avon angels. The nimbus appears more frequently on the saints and angels in the St. Ethelwold Benedictional (10th century).

The inference to be drawn from these comparisons is, that it was unusual in very early work to represent figures with the nimbus; in later Saxon work it was usual in MSS. and occasionally in sculpture. It became general in Norman work until, in the mediæval age, it was seldom if ever omitted as an attribute of special sanctity, and never in cases where divine beings were represented. For these reasons it seems clear that our sculpture must be of early date, for had it been of from 12th to 15th century workmanship it would probably have been distinguished by the addition of a nimbus, which was then in constant use as an attribute to sanctity, and especially so when symbolising divinity, or perhaps I should say, divine beings.

The question of the identity of the angel represented next arises. It has been suggested that the figure is only part of a larger scheme representing the Annunciation,* which may have formed a portion of a tympanum. This, I venture to think, is improbable. Sculptured tympana do not appear to have been a special feature of pre-Norman architecture, and if the angel be supposed to represent St. Gabriel, it is contrary to the rule to depict him as approaching the Virgin from the left. Nor is the inscription applicable in any way to that angel, whose words to the Virgin were,† "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee," his right hand being generally shown

* Baines's *History of Lancashire*, 1889, vol. ii., p. 35.
† Luke, i. 28.

as raised in the act of blessing. Gabriel is said to have announced the birth of John the Baptist to Zacharias,* "And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord, standing on the *right side* of the altar of incense." For these reasons, I think, the idea may be dismissed that the subjects refers in any way to the Annunciation.

If the figure be not intended to represent the angel Gabriel, it may possibly relate to St. Michael, who was greatly venerated in the early Christian Church, and considered as the lord and guardian of souls. It has been suggested that the figure may have formed part of a crucifixion subject. Judging from early representations of the scene, the figures usually portrayed are those of the Saviour, St. Mary, and St. John, the two latter on either side of the cross gazing upwards, as in the mural painting at Headbourne-Worthy, which is said to be Saxon work. Where angels are introduced they are often depicted as flying above the cross and looking downwards, bearing in their hands napkins or other objects.† In no case have I met with any representation of an angel standing below the cross and looking away from it. Canon Isaac Taylor is of opinion that the figure represents St. Michael, and it is difficult to understand what other angel was intended, presuming the date to be as early as the palæography suggests. Apparently, no well-known symbol of St. Michael appears in the sculpture. The spirit of evil, in the form of a serpent or dragon, is usually an accessory in pictorial representations of the saint, and such may have been the case when this stone was unbroken, for if it, or a good photograph of it, be examined carefully, an object of a triangular shape

* Luke, i. 11.

† See "Benedictional of St. Ethelwold" (*Archæologia*, 1832).

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Sketch of Suggested Original Appearance of the Stone.

in relief, at the end of a raised sinuous line, is seen in the lower corner behind the figure, which I take to be the barbed end of the tail of a dragon,* whose body, except the portion mentioned, has been broken away round its outline, and with it has disappeared the two feet of the angel, which had apparently been placed upon it. It may also be noticed that the word TVAS is divided after the letter T, and the word COMMEDO is divided after the letters CO. It would not have been necessary to do this unless some projection had interfered, for otherwise, supposing the base to have been originally level, there would have been sufficient space for the word TVAS to have been completed, and for the addition of the letter M after CO, instead of breaking the syllable unnecessarily; what the triangular projection could otherwise have pertained to I am at a loss to conceive, and it is most unfortunate that the fracture has taken place.

In my search for a figure of St. Michael holding a scroll, I met with a translation from the "Greek Painters' Guide," given in Didron's *Christian Iconography*, in which minute descriptions and details are set forth for the delineations of various holy personages, and amongst them St. Michael. The subject is the fall of Lucifer. "All around are choirs of angels, filled with profound dread. *Michael stands in the midst holding a scroll* on which is written 'Let us stand in fear, let us here adore the Lord our God.' At the bottom, and in the midst of of the abyss, Lucifer, most fearful and blackest of all, lies forward on the ground looking upward." This may, of course, be an elaboration of some traditional Byzantine idea as to the representation of the saint, which may,

* Similar to the tail end of a serpent or dragon figured on the Anglian cross-shaft at Leek.

originally, have been as simple in composition as the one under consideration. From the 6th to the 10th century, Byzantium seems to have been the fount whence art, literature, and religion, emanated, and spread throughout Europe. It may be then from Byzantine influence, that the idea of pourtraying St. Michael with a scroll arose; that he was specially venerated by the Byzantines is apparent from the number of churches they dedicated to him, for the early Christians appear to have had a strong tendency towards angel worship.* Constantine dedicated a magnificent church to St. Michael, which became renowned for miracles, and a model for many more. It may be due to this, that so many early churches were dedicated to the same saint in Britain and elsewhere.† The influence of the early Byzantine church and its art, had its effect upon the British, for Anglian symbolism owes its origin first to Byzantium and then to Rome. It is thought that the first missionaries who carried the gospel as far westward as possible,‡ established themselves at Skellig *Michael*, in Ireland; whether this be so or not, it is undoubtedly an early foundation, so also is the church of St. Michael at St. Albans, which was built of Roman materials. St. Michael being considered as the chief of the angels, and endowed with great powers, he was looked upon, not only as the guardian of souls, but also as the guardian of the Church. Pictorially delineated in

* Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities* (Angels), 1875, vol. i., pp. 83-89.

† See *Church Dedications*, by Frances Arnold Forster, vol. i., p. 37.

‡ St. Irenæus, who was Bishop of Lyons in the second century, affirms that Christianity had been propagated to the boundaries of the world, signifying the Iberian and Celtic nations; and Tertullian, in his work against the Jews, written A.D. 209, affirms that the regions of Britain, inaccessible to the Roman arms, were subject to the gospel of Christ—"Brittanorum inacessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita," Lib. adv. Judæos cap vii.—Westwood's *Palæo. Sacra. Pict.*

Cf. Kirk Michael, in Isle of Man, on western side of island.

so many ways, the variety seems endless, but the two favourite ideas seem to be as a fighting angel and as the receiver of the souls of the dead; in the latter case, he is provided with scales, with which to weigh the good and evil acts of the departed, a graphic representation which is but an evolution of the primitive idea. An early instance of this occurs in Ireland, viz., on the 10th century Monasterboice cross, and one of the latest is in the Henry VII. Chapel, Westminster.*

The question arises, do the words inscribed on the scroll, "IN MANUS TVAS DOMINE COMMENDO SPIRITUM," refer to this custodianship of the Church and of souls? Much controversial argument may be expended on this point, rather outside the scope of my paper, which primarily, is intended to prove the pre-Norman character of the inscription and sculpture. Presuming the inscription does so apply, the subject then appears to have a somewhat dedicatory significance, and suggests that the figure may have occupied some important position in one of the early churches mentioned in Domesday Book as existing in Manchester. From its size, thirteen and a quarter inches in height, it could not, one would think, have been intended for a very elevated situation, and the absence of any material effect of weathering indicates that it must have been to a certain extent protected from the elements. It may possibly have been intended as a representation of the saint to whom the *first* primitive oratory, chapel, or church in the small Saxon town of Mameceastre was dedicated when Christianity became of such importance in the district that it was necessary to build one. Britton,† who quotes

* For other instances, see Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*, 1860, pp. 119, 120.

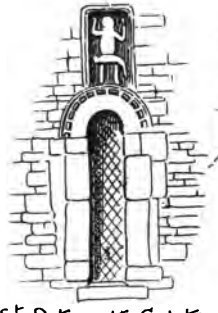
† Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, 1835, vol. v., pp. 11-13.

Wilkin's *Concilia*, vol. i., p. 169, says: "Many churches are mentioned as having been erected in the interval between the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and the predatory incursions of the Danes in England in the 8th and 9th centuries. In fact, the erection of parish churches had become so very frequent that at a great council held at Ceale-hythe (Calcuth in Northumberland) in A.D. 816 a canon was framed prescribing the precise manner of consecrating them by the bishop of the diocese, *and directing that the saint to whom each church or altar was dedicated should be depicted either upon the wall of the oratory or on a table* (*i.e.*, tablet)."

Leo Allatius, in his book on the construction of Byzantine churches, says: "The walls of the church should be distinguished by a representation of the Saviour, or more frequently by a painting *representing the patron of the church, sheltered from the weather by being placed in a small cell or niche in the wall.*"*

An excellent example of what are probably dedicatory figures, occurs over the inner door of the principal entrance to the Saxon church of Deerhurst. There is another much-weathered specimen over one of the doors at Barnack. Over a door at Haddiscoe, Norfolk, there is a fine example, both hands being raised in the ancient manner (orans) of prayer; the dress and attitude of this figure, bearing a curious and close resemblance to another carved upon an Anglian cross slab at Neston, Cheshire. At St. Peter at Gowts, Lincoln, there is a figure tablet over the west window of the tower. It is possible that our stone may have been so placed over an inner door of the original chapel or church, and if the principal entrance

* Texier and Pullen's *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 59.



St Peter at Gowts,
Lincoln
W. Window.

Figure over
inner door,
W. entrance, Deerhurst.

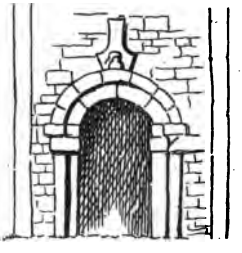
Head of figure chiselled flat.

N. door of Chancel,
Rostherne.

from John Owen's Sketch.
in M.S.S. vol. 27. p. 183.

Hadiscoe Church,
Norfolk.

Figure in ancient attitude (orans) of prayer.



Barnack Church,
Northampton.

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were on the south or sunny side, it has not travelled far from its former position.

When and by whom the first chapel or church of Manchester was erected we may probably never know. We do know that churches existed here at the time of the Domesday Survey in the 11th century, and if any value be attached to the palæography and other characteristics of this stone, it suggests the possibility that the *first* church may have been erected somewhere about the 7th century or, at any rate, before the troublous times of the Danish invasions, when in the 9th century they conquered and settled in Northumbria, the kingdom of the Christian kings Oswald and Edwin. If the first church were erected during the period named (7th to 8th century), when, as we have seen, the "Pelasgian" M was in use in lapidary inscriptions and MSS., it was at a time when a great wave of Christianity was spreading over this part of Britain, and stirring events were taking place, such as the conversion of King Oswald and his sons, followed by the reign of King Edwin; the influence of the labours of Paulinus, Bede, Aidan, Wilfrid, and of Benedict Biscop was being felt, and the consequent building of churches in Northumbria, of which Manchester was a part. We know that Manchester was a place of some importance before the time of Edward the Elder, for he it was who in A.D. 923 repaired and manned it, thus completing the belt of twenty forts extending along the English frontier from Colchester through Bedford and Nottingham to Manchester and Chester.* It is, therefore, not improbable, that it would have a church or a domestic chapel for the use of the lord or thegn, who held it as a vassal under the Christian kings Oswald or Edwin. An old Saxon memo-

* Grant Allen's *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, pp. 143-4.

randum, known as the "Law of Promotion," states that the ceorl who had five hides of land, *a church*, and a kitchen and a place in the king's hall would win the right of a thegn.* When the Danes seized Manchester in the 9th century they would probably destroy or burn the church, as they did at Stow, near Lincoln, and many other places. Of this we have no record, beyond the fact of the re-edification of the town by Edward, and I merely suggest what may have occurred. The records of Manchester during Saxon times are meagre; references to its early history may have been in existence, but fire and the rapacities of the palimpsest maker have obliterated many records. In the surrounding districts there are many evidences of early Christianity, such as the Anglian preaching or other crosses of Eccles, Cheadle, Winwick, Bolton, Heysham, Whalley, Halton, Lancaster, Prestbury, Lyme, Sandbach, &c., and the early relics of the Wirral peninsula. It seems obvious that places such as Chester, Manchester, and Lancaster, which had been fortified Roman camps, would have become by their very nature, the headquarters of the succeeding Saxon thegns of note, who, on the conversion of their king to Christianity, would build small oratories, chapels, or churches for the use of themselves and their retainers.

If the sculpture under consideration be taken as a dedicatory representation of the angel St. Michael, it suggests that a chapel or church named after that archangel, stood upon the site now occupied by the present Cathedral. Manchester was a very small place in Saxon times, and the lord or thegn (or head man of the place, whatever his designation might be) doubtless lived within

* *English Historical Review*, 1897, p. 489.

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RESIDENCE OF A SAXON NOBLEMAN.

(*From Harleian MS.*)

[The Domestic Chapel is surmounted by a cross.]

the enclosure, protected by the Hanging Ditch and the rivers Irk and Irwell. Here there would be his hall, chapel, and churls' huts. This chapel would probably be very small, as we know many minor Anglo-Saxon churches were. It would, however, be large enough for himself and his retinue, but, as population increased, the need would be felt for another and a larger church, which freedmen and strangers living without the lord's domain could attend; whether that church was, or was not, at or near St. Mary's Gate, so often discussed, is not within the province of this paper to inquire. Two Saxon churches, one the lord's chapel and the other larger, are still visible at Deerhurst, and built within a bowshot of each other. At Bradford-on-Avon, the small Saxon chapel is close to the old parish church. The same thing occurs at Heysham. At Bywell in Northumberland and Barton-on-Humber two ancient churches stand close together; and, at Lincoln, St. Peter at Pleas is said to have stood in the same churchyard as St. Peter at Arches, like "Pauls and Gregories in London," as referred to by Hollingworth.

In the Domesday survey* we have the fact recorded that the church of St. Mary and the church of St. Michael held one carucate of land in Manchester, and one priest is also mentioned.

It is surmised that the church of St. Michael may have been at Ashton-under-Lyne and the church of St. Mary at Manchester. In that case, these two widely separated churches would jointly hold the carucate of land "in Manchester," and (perhaps) be served by the before-mentioned priest. Ashton, however, is not named in the Survey, nor, apparently, is a church of St. Michael

* Baines's *History of Lancashire*, 1889, vol. i., p. 40.

referred to in any deeds or records relating to the Barony of Grelley. A church at "Aston" is mentioned in the documents of Thomas Grelley, the sixth baron, 1231-62,* (son of the first Baron Grelley known to have lived in Manchester). If this Thomas founded a church or chapel at "Aston" [Ashton] one can understand why it is not mentioned in his father's deeds or records.† No pre-Norman cross or architectural fragments, appear to have been found at Ashton-under-Lyne, such as exist at Eccles, Cheadle, Winwick, Disley, Bolton, &c.

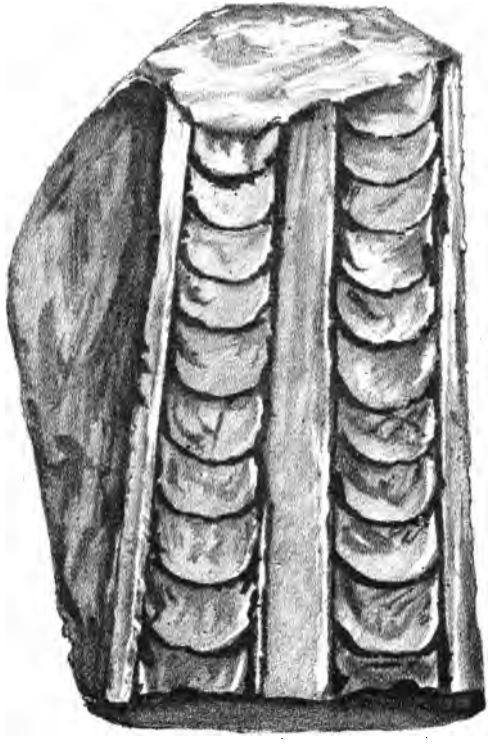
In Manchester, however, we have the evidence given by Mr. Crowther of a very early church, and, if my investigations be correct, further evidence as to date is afforded by this sculptured stone.

Another curiously sculptured stone was found many years ago in the Cathedral area by John Owen, and sketched, at his father's request, by my friend Mr. G. H. Rowbotham, when a youth. The purpose of the fragment is somewhat difficult to define, but the sculpture resembles the tegulated ornament often found on Anglian crosses and grave slabs, and does not seem to belong to any post-Norman style of architecture. Unfortunately, this stone is now lost, but the fact of its discovery is worth recording. It may have formed part of the ornamented jamb of a doorway, as at Perranzabuloe. Owing to alterations, reconstructions, and enlargements the materials and fragments of carved stone relating to earlier churches became dispersed about the later buildings, the stones, having been once consecrated, being usually incorporated with

* See W. Farrer's "Barony of Grelley," *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society's Transactions*, 1901, p. 34.

† Before 1303 the chapel of Ashton was dependent upon the church of Manchester, but it appears to have obtained the rank of a parish church before 1291, when the church of Ashton was valued at £10 per annum (*Not. Cest.*, vol. ii., page 3, note).

DOORWAY, ORATORY OF ST. PIRAN, PERRAN-ZABULOE, CORNWALL.
SIXTH CENTURY.
LEOPARD'S HEAD ON KEYSTONE, OTHERS HUMAN.



SCULPTURED STONE

Found during Cathedral alterations, 1870-75, by Mr. John Owen, and sketched by Mr. G. H. Rowbotham. (This stone is now missing).

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newer work. So, in many churches we find when alterations are made, that identifiable fragments of the earliest building are to be found.

It has been remarked that there appears to be no trace of Norman work in this church. This may perhaps be accounted for, if the statement be correct that no Norman baron lived here until the end of the 12th, or beginning of the 13th century, when the Norman style of architecture had ceased. The first resident barons do not seem to have long delayed the altering or enlarging of the church, for fragments relating to the 13th century (1220) were found by Mr. Crowther, and had been re-used as building material in later work. It is not my purpose to discuss these points, which are merely called to mind when considering the age and importance of the sculptured and inscribed stone, the subject of my paper. If my investigations have proved that it does *not* relate to the mediæval period, as some high authorities have recently averred,* but to an era considerably anterior to the Norman Conquest, then I think we may take it as being the most ancient Christian monument in the city of Manchester, and its inscription one of the rarest examples of ancient lettering in England.

ADDENDUM.

Since the reading of my paper before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, notes from it, an enlarged photograph, sketches, and a squeeze of the inscription have been submitted by Mr. W. E. A. Axon, LL.D., to Mr. Walter de Grey Birch, F.S.A., who confirms my opinion as to its antiquity, and places

* Vide *Transactions*, vol. xiv., p. 66.

its period as 8th to 9th century A.D. I am also glad to add that, by the authority of the Dean and Canons, the fragment has now been placed in a handsome, oaken, glass-covered case in the Jesus Chapel, and is available for the inspection of those interested in the relics of a bye-gone age.

PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, January 27th, 1905.

The annual meeting was held in the Chetham Hospital, Mr. C. W. Sutton, M.A., presiding.

The twenty-second annual report was read by Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary (see vol. xxii., p. 223).

The officers were elected as follow:—

President:
GEORGE PEARSON.

Vice-Presidents:

W. E. A. AXON, LL.D.	Lieut.-Col. FISHWICK, F.S.A.
Professor BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	Rev. H. A. HUDSON, M.A.
	C. W. SUTTON, M.A.

Honorary Treasurer: WILLIAM HARRISON.

Honorary Secretary: G. C. YATES, F.S.A.

Members of the Council:

SAMUEL ANDREW.	D. F. HOWORTH.
C. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.	FLETCHER MOSS.
F. A. BROMWICH.	A. NICHOLSON.
W. S. CHURCHILL.	J. J. PHELPS.
ALFRED DARBYSHIRE, F.S.A.	W. J. REDFORD.
HENRY GUPPY, M.A.	CHARLES ROEDER.
NATHAN HEYWOOD.	GEORGE ROWBOTHAM.

GEORGE H. SEED.

Friday, February 10th, 1905.

The monthly meeting was held in the Chetham Library, Mr. George Pearson presiding.

Mr. William Bowden exhibited an axe head in black basalt from New Zealand.

Mr. William E. A. Axon read a description of the Altar to Fortuna (p. 66), found at Castle Field, and the paper was illustrated by some excellent drawings by Mr. Phelps.

Mr. William Harrison gave a short communication supplementary to the paper read by Mr. Charles Roeder in the previous December on the "Beginnings of the Manchester Post-Office" (see *Transactions*, vol. xxii., p. 1). He referred to a manuscript book, prepared in 1677 for the information of the Duke of York, upon whom the revenues of the post-office had been settled by Act of Parliament in 1663, and summarised in *Notes and Queries*, ninth series, vol. i., p. 121 (February 12th, 1898). In this book particulars are given of the six "runnings," or roads, diverging from London, into which England was divided. The one by which Manchester was reached was the Chester road. This went to confirm Mr. Roeder's statement that it was through Knutsford, and not through Buxton, that the post originally came to Manchester.

Dr. Thomas Carr, of Blackpool, read a paper on "Armour as illustrated by English Brasses," with examples of original rubbings. There are more brasses remaining in England, he said, than in any other country. Indeed we know of over four thousand examples, and there are the remains of at least as many more in the stones or matrices from which they have been torn. But even this great number is only a small proportion of those originally engraved. The larger proportion is to be found in the eastern counties, as these were, at the time of

the execution of the brasses, the wealthier counties, and more in communication with the Continent, whence the brass plates came. The destruction of many took place at the time of the Reformation, again during the Commonwealth, and again during the apathy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The original Christian memorials from the eighth century were incised stones. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries came sculptured effigies; and at the end of the twelfth century or early thirteenth century came the brasses, which lasted as a fashion well on into the seventeenth century. They were probably suggested by the Limoges enamels of the eleventh century.

The brass itself was made on the Continent, notably in Flanders and Cologne, but the engraving was done by English artists, and the style of engraving shows the signs of the different periods of Gothic architecture during which it was executed. The metal was called latten, and is an alloy similar to, though not the same as, brass. The earliest form of armour was undoubtedly that of light plates of mail; and such armour was worn by the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans alike. After the downfall of the Roman Empire chain-mail gradually became more general. It was brought first to western Europe by the Scandinavians, who obtained the art of making chain-mail from the ancient Scythians. Beowulf, the Anglo-Saxon epic of the eighth century (if not earlier), describes the wearing of chain armour. When the Norsemen settled in Normandy and elsewhere they took to riding horses, which enabled them to wear heavier armour and use longer weapons; and from this fact we get the origin of chivalry, and all that it denotes. And so, from the time of the Norman Conquest until our English infantry proved their value at Poictiers, at Cressy,

and at Agincourt, the mail-clad cavalry was the chief strength of battle.

To the chain mail of the Normans were subsequently added plates which re-enforced the chain in its most exposed positions. The simple coif de mailles was supplemented by a fluted headpiece, and to this was added subsequently a heavy helm, the vizor of which obscured the face. This necessitated some distinguishing mark or badge being placed thereon for purposes of recognition. At first this sign was painted on the helmet, but subsequently the crest, a device attached to the top of the helmet, was adopted. Then plates were added to protect the upper and lower extremities. The breast, too, required to be covered by an additional plate to protect it from the opponents' lances; and so plate armour gradually and eventually completely replaced chain armour.

The lecturer concluded by showing a series of beautiful brass rubbings, dating from A.D. 1277 to A.D. 1529, to illustrate his points; and by reading an extract from Andrew Lang's translation of *Aucassin and Nicolet*, which described the armour of the earliest period, and Chaucer's description of Sir Thopas, which gives a detailed account of the armour of the period of *The Canterbury Tales*. The following is a list of rubbings shown:—

First period (entire suits of chain mail, with a surcoat): (1) Sir John D'Aubernon, 1277; Stoke D'Aubernon, Surrey. (2) Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289; Trumpington, Cambridge. (3) Sir Robert de Bures, 1302; Acton, Suffolk. (4) Sir — de Fitzralph, 1320; Pebmarsh, Essex.

Second period (mixed chain and plate mail, including cyclas): (5) Sir John D'Aubernon, the younger, 1327; Stoke D'Aubernon, Surrey. (6) Sir John de Creke, 1328; Westley Waterless, Cambs.

Third period (camail period): (7) Sir John de Argentine, 1382; Horseheath, Cambs. (8) Sir Robert Swynbourne, 1391; Little Horkesley, Essex.

Fourth period (complete plate armour—Lancastrian): (9) Sir Reginald de Cobham, 1403; Lingfield, Surrey. (10) Bartholomew Lord Bouchier, 1409; Halstead, Essex. (11) Sir Thomas Swynbourne, 1412; Little Horkesley, Essex. (12) A knight, *c.* 1420; Felstead, Essex. (13) Sir John de Brewys, 1426; Wiston, Sussex.

Fifth period (complete plate armour—Yorkist).

Sixth period (mail skirt—Early Tudor): (14) Viscount Beaumont, 1507; Wyvenhoe, Essex. (15) John Berners, Esq., 1523; Finchingfield, Essex. (16) Henry Bures, Esq., 1529; Acton, Suffolk.

Seventh period (period of taces—Elizabethan).

Friday, March 10th, 1905.

The monthly meeting was held in Chetham's Library, the President in the chair.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman gave a description of the numerous MSS. exhibits which are included in the collection he is presenting to the proposed Old Manchester Exhibition.

The paper of the evening was by Messrs. F. S. Graves and Charles Roeder on "Recent Archæological Discoveries at Alderley Edge" (see p. 17). The tables were covered with an exceedingly interesting collection of stone implements and other objects of interest found by Messrs. Graves and Roeder during their investigations.

Saturday, April 15th, 1905.

On this day the members assembled at the John Rylands Library, where they again had the privilège of the guidance of Mr. Henry Guppy, M.A., the librarian, in the inspection of many manuscripts and printed books of great beauty and high historical interest. The hearty thanks of the members were given to the governors and the librarian for allowing the visit to be made.

Monday, May 1st, 1905.

A visit was paid to "The Old Crypt," under Mr. Ponter's premises, 20, Old Millgate, Manchester. The following description is taken from the *Manchester Guardian,* December 12th, 1903: "A problem of interest to antiquaries is set by the discovery under some business premises in Market Place of a cellar of curious construction. It is a vault about six yards square and is a fine example of groining in brickwork. There is a short stone pillar in the centre and from it rise the arches in the usual formation. There are also arches round the walls. The workmanship is excellent, and it is fresh and well preserved. There is no certainty as to the original purpose of the cellar. Its appearance strongly suggests a crypt, but there is very little to support the theory that the place was ever a crypt. From the evidence of the brickwork it seems unlikely that it is older than the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1730 or thereabouts a common standard in the size of bricks was adopted. The bricks used in the construction of the cellar are of varying size, and they are for the most part smaller than those used after the middle of the eighteenth century. Underground rooms arched in a similar manner,

only without the groining, have been unearthed in several places in the immediate neighbourhood of the centre of the city. This is certainly one of the best constructed, and the excellent groining marks it out among finds of the same nature. It is interesting to remember that it was close to this spot, if not upon it, that the house stood of John Byrom, the eighteenth-century Manchester poet. The site of Byrom's house is accurately known, but it has not yet been ascertained whether the chamber is beneath it. Assuming that it is, the most reasonable theory would seem to be that the place was originally built as the wine cellar of Byrom's house, though this is, of course, no more than a tentative suggestion. If this is the truth the builders must have taken more trouble than is usual in the construction of wine cellars. Until some more conclusive statement is forthcoming the theory may be entertained that here was stored the generous wine that may have inspired that merry epigram on the rivals Handel and Buonocini—

> Strange all this difference should be
> 'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee!"

Saturday, May 13th, 1905.

A party of the members, under the leadership of Mr. William Harrison, paid a visit to the Holcombe district. At Ramsbottom station the party was met by the Rev. W. Hume Elliott, minister of the Presbyterian Church, and it was joined a little later by Mr. Foster, the Holcombe schoolmaster. Under their joint guidance the steep path was taken by the Carrs and Top-o'th'-Taper on to the open moor, which here rises to a height of over twelve hundred feet above the sea. Anciently it formed part of

the forest or chase of Tottington, one of the chases belonging to the Lacies, Earls of Lincoln, and afterwards to the Earls of Lancaster, as part of the honour of Clitheroe. By several charters in the early part of the thirteenth century land and forest rights at Holcombe were granted to the priory of Monk Bretton in Yorkshire, and amongst other lands so granted were three acres of meadow near "Pilgrimcross schahe" (shaw or wood). Even earlier than this, namely, in 1176, Robert de Lacy had granted lands abutting upon "Pilgrimcrosse-slack" in the forest of Tottington.

The Pilgrim Cross thus referred to was situate high up on the moor close beside the track leading northwards towards the shrine of Whalley, some ten or twelve miles distant. The cross itself disappeared long ago, but the socket-stone remained until in August, 1901, it was found to have been smashed to pieces, and the fragments buried in a bog-hole close by. What motive incited this act of vandalism it is hard to say. However, the suggestion made by the Rev. H. Dowsett, the then rector of Holcombe, that an inscribed stone should be erected on the spot was carried into effect on June 28th, 1902.* After leaving the cross the party made for Robin Hood's Well, still further north, some on their way thither making a detour by Bull Hill, the site of a Neolithic workshop, where in past years many flint flakes and stone implements have been found. Nothing now seems to be known about the well, but it is evidently of great age, and may have figured in the Robin Hood pageantry of the Middle Ages. The covering stone is massive sandstone and pyramidal in shape, with the apex con-

* See *Transactions*, vol. xix., pp. 271-2.

siderably blunted, and there are some curiously shaped indentations in it.

After tea a visit was paid to the Hey House, the residence of Mr. Samuel Rothwell. It is beautifully situated at the foot of the steep slope just under the Peel Monument, and commands extensive views to the south-east. It apparently dates from the seventeenth century, and its chief interest lies in its panelled walls, its beautifully carved oak mantelpiece dated 1671, and the "Apostles' Door." This door is divided into twelve panels, of which all but one, typical of the traitor Judas, depict fruit.

At Holcombe Church the party was met by the Rev. H. Dowsett, who produced the Registers, beginning in 1726, and pointed out several gravestones of interest, and the stone forming the base of the sundial, which had evidently formerly supported a cross. Mr. Dowsett had just resigned the incumbency after thirty years' indefatigable service, and a pleasing little ceremony in connection with his retirement was responsible for the frustration of his intention to accompany the party earlier in the afternoon. He is the author of *Notes on Holcombe* and *Holcombe Long Ago*.

Saturday, June 3rd, 1905.

The Society paid a visit to the Roman camp, known as Toot Hill, lying on the slope of the hills above the glen of Wildboarclough. The route taken was by vehicles from Macclesfield along the Buxton road as far as the "Setter Dog" at Walker Barn. Here the members were met by Mr. Budden and Mr. Collins, two members of the Macclesfield Field Club, who led them by a field path and the "Dirty

Gate" to the site where the four-square castrum, still undisturbed, points to a long-forgotten military occupation. So far as can be learned, no identification has yet been made of this Roman station, either in the *Antonine Iter* or among the list of names given additionally in the Bertram forgery of Richard of Cirencester; but the late Mr. Thompson Watkin, the historian of Roman Cheshire, was inclined to think it the Arnemeza of Ravennas. He gives the measurements of the various sides of the camp as follow: western one hundred and ninety-eight feet, eastern one hundred and sixty-eight feet, northern one hundred and forty-five feet, and southern one hundred and twenty-five feet. The rampart is highest on the west side, at one place measuring four feet eight inches from its summit to the present level of the ditch. From the northern extremity of the eastern rampart there runs a ridge of the same width as the rampart itself, with a ditch on its east side. It is traceable for about two hundred and forty-five feet, and seems to have led to a road, faint traces of which are visible a short distance beyond its termination. Watkin, in his map, shows a Roman road eastwards to Buxton and another (supposed) in the opposite direction towards Chelford.*

After tea at the farm, nearly fourteen hundred feet above sea-level, a visit was paid to the Forest Chapel, a small unpretentious structure built in 1834. The key-stone of the porch is, however, a fragment of an earlier building, and bears the inscription "S. S. 1673." In the churchyard is the grave of the Rev. Gage Earl Freeman, a former vicar, well known in his time as an authority on falconry. He wrote in the *Field* under the title of

* The visit of the Society has rekindled interest in this almost forgotten site, of which a systematic exploration has now been undertaken.

"Peregrine." The chapel, as its name implies, was in earlier times the ecclesiastical centre of the extensive forest of Macclesfield. Near to it was the "Chamber in the Forest," the hunting lodge of the Earl of Chester, to whom the forest belonged. The farmhouse known as "Old Chamber" was pulled down, the members were informed, only about five years ago. Not far away are the Coombes, a semi-circular hollow in the hills. Mr. William Harrison recalled references to the Coombes in the manorial histories of Sutton, Cheadle, Chelford, and Bolyn (Wilmslow), from which it appeared that these manors were held by services connected with hunting. Thus the owner of Sutton had to find one hunter to follow the dogs of the earl in his chase in the Coombes; and the others had to find men to repair the hedges or fences in the Coombes and attend when the earl hunted. The method of hunting in Norman times was to drive the game into an enclosure by a crowd of beaters raised by the conditions of land tenure from all the surrounding district. A semi-circular hollow (cwm or coomb) is obviously well suited for such an enclosure.*

The day was an ideal one, and the views from these Cheshire highlands were more than unusually extensive. Westward, the range of Delamere lay in front, and high in the background rose Moel Fammau, whilst the hills along the Vale of Clwyd were distinctly visible. North-west, the tide in the estuary of the Mersey was sparkling in the sunlight. In the south-west the Peckforton hills and Beeston Castle stood up clearly, and beyond these the ranges of the Berwyn mountains closed the distant view. The fields around, and the whole area of the castrum, were covered with golden mountain pansies in full beauty.

* See vol. xx., p. 10.

The excursion closed by a leisurely walk down the valley by Langley, with the plain of Cheshire and the mountains of Wales still in view. Near Sutton a divergence was made to a field path which led over the Hollins, which commands a beautiful prospect, including the town of Macclesfield nestling in the valley below. Lastly, came an unusually brilliant sunset, which brought to a fitting close one of the most delightful excursions ever enjoyed by the Society.

Saturday, July 8th, 1905.

A large party of members proceeded to Alderley, and walked to Higher House, the residence of Mr. C. J. Holt Gradisky, who acted as leader and host on the occasion. After tea on the lawn, the beautiful gardens were inspected. There was a grand show of roses and other plants, but the principal attraction was the quaint and extraordinary growths of trees and shrubs, the result of the great ingenuity of the late Mr. Taylor. One is shaped like a camel, another like a weather vane, another like a monkey climbing up the trunk, while an oak eight hundred years old has a summer house built in its branches, which is approached by a staircase.

After leaving Higher House, the party proceeded by a pleasant field path to Mottram Old Hall, the residence of the Calveleys, the Booths, and the Wrights. It is now used as a farm house and steward's residence. It is a black and white timber and plaster building, originally surrounded by a moat, of which three sides still exist, and situate about a quarter of a mile from the present Mottram Hall, a large brick mansion standing in a well-wooded park, and erected about the year 1753. It contains some nice old oak panelling. A chapel at Mottram is referred

to in some depositions relating to Newton in 1502, but, as there stated, it appears to be doubtful whether Newton Chapel may not have been meant. A field at the back of Mottram Hall is, however, known as the Chapel Field, and there is a tradition that a chapel once existed there. It is not referred to in any list of chapels in Macclesfield Hundred. The present chapel in the hall is of the same date as that building, and is licensed for divine service. After examining the interior of the hall the gardens were visited, and a delightful walk was taken through the woods, and thence to Alderley.

Saturday, July 22nd, 1905.

A party of members of the Society went to Miller's Dale, and thence by conveyances to Tideswell. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman acted as leader. On arriving at Tideswell Church the members were received by the Rev. J. M. J. Fletcher, M.A., vicar of Tideswell, who gave a comprehensive description of this interesting church, which has been described in vol. vi. of the *Transactions*. The party subsequently drove to Whiston to visit an old wayside cross. An excellent drawing and description of this cross, by Mr. George H. Rowbotham, are given in vol. xi. of the Society's *Transactions*, 1893.

Saturday, August 12th, 1905.

A visit was made to Winwick under the leadership of Mr. Charles Madeley, chief librarian and curator of the Warrington Museum. At Newton Old Hall, a venerable half-timbered building dating from 1634, and including

part of a still earlier structure belonging to the Banastres, the members were welcomed by Mr. Boydell, who conducted them over the premises and pointed out the numerous objects of interest. Mr. Madeley also gave an account of the hall. On the way to Winwick the party passed the "Bloody Stone," the reputed spot where, according to the famous Wigan legend, the Welsh knight, who had espoused the Lady Mabel during her husband's absence in the Holy Land, was slain, on his return, by Sir William Bradshaigh. A short distance from the stone occurred the desperate engagement on August 19th, 1648, between the retreating Royalists under General Bailey and the Parliamentary forces under Cromwell. For the "wonderful great success" of this Lancashire campaign Parliament ordered, four days later, a "Day of Universal Thanksgiving." Near here is St. Oswald's Well, and assuming that the disputed Maserfelth of Bede is Makerfield in Winwick parish, we are on classic ground, for here, "fighting for faith and country," fell King Oswald.

The glory of Winwick is its church. The chancel is interesting as an early example of the Gothic revival and the genius of the younger Pugin. Its high gabled roof and the exquisite mouldings of the decorated windows attest the architect's resourcefulness and culture. There are many monuments and brasses of interest in the interior. They refer to the families of Legh of Lyme, Claughton, Stanley, and Hornby of Winwick. The Leghs of Lyme own property in Newton and were a most powerful family at Winwick. Sir Peter Legh, who died at Lyme, A.D. 1527, was buried at his request in Winwick Church, and, to use the language of the time, "pictors" of himself and wife, with his arms, decorate his tomb. Warden Stanley, of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, was also rector of Winwick. He became bishop of Ely and is buried in the

Stanley Chapel of Manchester Cathedral. The Hornbys held the rectory of Winwick for several generations. The pillars and arches in the north and south bays are also interesting, and the restorations have been well carried out.

Canon Penrhyn, M.A., rector of Winwick, gave a description of the church, and pointed out the chief objects of interest. On the west front of the tower on the south side, and in such a position that it would be at the feet of a figure which formerly occupied a now empty niche, is the representation of a pig, with a bell tied round its neck. The Winwick people tell visitors a strange story in connection with this piece of sculpture. When the building of the church was in contemplation it was decided that it should be built at the bottom of the hill on which the present structure stands, and stones were got together at that place and the foundations laid. But when the masons left at night the stones were all carried up the hill and placed on the present site of the church by a miraculous pig, which had a bell tied round its neck. This was repeated every night. The wonderful pig's bell was heard all night ringing as he laboured up the hill with the stones, and the sound was supposed by the terrified villagers to say, "Winwick! Winwick!" At last the builders contended no longer against so manifest and inconvenient an interposition. The site was changed, the place was called Winwick, and the figure of the miraculous pig was carved upon the tower to perpetuate its memory! In the churchyard is a portion of a beautiful Saxon cross. It is an evidence of Christian worship here in the seventh century, and may have been erected to the memory of Oswald. The sculpture at one end pourtrays the dismemberment of his body, for it is related that after the battle his head and arms were set up on stakes as

tokens of victory, it may be supposed, to the conquering Penda's Welsh allies. This cross is described by Dr. Browne, bishop of Bristol, in volume five of the Society's *Transactions*, and by Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., in vol. xix., p. 219.

After tea Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A., read a paper on Winwick, prepared by the Rev. Henry A. Hudson, M.A.

Saturday, September 9th, 1905.

A party of the members visited Melandra Castle under the leadership of Mr. Robert Hamnett. The Society had made previous visits in 1888, 1898, and 1899, recorded in the *Transactions*, vols. vi., xvi., and xvii. The second visit supplied the inspiration to excavations, in aid of which special subscriptions were collected by the Society, although the site lay just outside its sphere of operations (see vol. xvii., pp. 287, 291). The third visit was to inspect some of the results of these excavations, which had been undertaken by the Derbyshire Archæological Society, under the supervision of Mr. Robert Hamnett and later of Mr. John Garstang, B.A., F.S.A. The results are given in vol. xvii., p. 258; vol. xviii., p. 159; vol. xix., p. 245; and vol. xx., p. 236. The work of excavation has recently been resumed under the auspices of the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association, and the present visit was to inspect the results so far as they were yet apparent. Entering by planks, over the rubble foundations of the north-eastern tower, the members visited first the east gate, where the mass of charcoal and clinkers was thought to be the remains of an iron furnace. At the south gate, the spot where the perforated loom weight

stone was found, a drawing of an ancient loom was exhibited to show its use. At the south gate the lead smelting furnace was pointed out. A room was recently excavated near the pretorium, which was thought to be the granary. It had a tiled floor about a foot below the surface, and some roofing tiles on the earth above indicated that they had been scattered by the depredators, who had removed the wrought stones to erect farmsteads in the district. The rusted iron hinges of the west gate still lay on the gravel bank, but their fragments were perceptibly diminishing. The well or spring has not yet been found.*

A visit to the little museum in Glossop was most interesting. Some attempts at restoring the fragments of mortaria and other vases by an art master of the district is being made. Some coins of the second century were recognised as being similar to those found at Plumpton Wood, Bamford, in Lancashire. A little green agate gem, with the rude intaglio of a horse engraven thereon, set in an iron finger-ring is there. The gem is perfect, but the iron is swollen and converted into an oxide nodule. One could imagine the soldier who wore it laying the stones *in situ* on such a cold wet day as that on which this visit was made, and with his hands chilled and mired, see the ring slip off in his work, to lie there for seventeen hundred years—a love-token, maybe, from his Frisian home beside the Rhine; a talisman of what, whom, and when, no one knows nor ever will.

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* A full account of the recent excavations will be found in *Melandra Castle* (Manchester, 1906), edited by Professor Conway, and containing contributions by various writers, including Professor W. Boyd Dawkins and Dr. Haverfield.

Friday, October 13th, 1905.

At the monthly meeting of the Society held in Chetham's Hospital, the President in the chair,

Mr. D. F. Howorth presented an interesting series of old Lancashire engravings to the Society.

Mr. Thomas Kay, of Stockport, read four short communications (see p. 34).

Exhibits: Mr. Thomas Kay, a water-colour drawing of Mottram Hall; Mr. S. Kay, prize medals by W. Wyon, Maclise, and L. C. Wyon; Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A., six flint scrapers from Rudston and Carnaby; Rev. H. A. Hudson, M.A., photographs of Cartmel Fell Chapel and Bowness Church.

Mr. George F. Cox exhibited a perforated stone hammer nine inches long and four and a quarter inches wide, recently found at Tottington, near Bury.

Friday, November 10th, 1905.

At the meeting of the Society, held in Chetham's Library, the President in the chair,

Mr. W. T. Browne exhibited two interesting copper flagons from Bavaria.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman gave a short communication on a parchment deed dated July 22nd, 1617 (in the time of James I.), dealing with a mosse rome or mosse doal, part of Droylsden Mosse or Moor, and certain turbury (turf cutting) rights over part of that moor.

Mr. S. W. Partington presented a communication on "Hey House, Holcombe."

Mr. Ernest Axon read a paper on "William Crabtree's Plan of the Booth Hall Estate" (see p. 30).

Mr. H. T. Crofton read a paper, of which the following is an outline:—

DUMPLINGTON AND THE HOLCROFTS.

Like most places of territorial origin, that of Holcroft has in the course of time spread round about. Holcroft, the place from which the Holcrofts took their name, is situated on the north side of Chat Moss, and some time prior to 1663 a Thomas Holcroft was occupying a farm at Dumplington, under the Trafford family. Dumplington is, or rather was until recently, a small hamlet on the south side of the Irwell, facing Barton on the north, and connected with it by a much-used ford and ferry before the old Barton Bridge was built, which, along with the river itself, has since been wiped out of existence by the Manchester Ship Canal. The Holcrofts were tenants there for generation after generation during more than two centuries, the last of them being Matthew Holcroft, who died in 1888. From their successive leases and other documents, and especially from a family note-book used by them, an account of them and their surroundings has been put together. The greatest interest, however, is centred in the miscellaneous contents of this family note-book, including an assortment of proprietary dedications, the fullest of which runs:—

> Henry Holcroft 1767 his book;
> God give him grace on it to look,
> But not (only) to look but understand;
> For learning (is) better than House and Land:
> For when land is spent and gone
> Learning is there to make their living on.

An earlier Henry Holcroft, in 1742, recorded in it that

> A man of words and not of deeds
> Is like a garden full of weeds.

A still earlier possessor used Shelton's zeiglographic or shorthand, and lets us know that on August 1st, 1719, his wife and he had "some difference, and she thought I kade (called) her cuckold." There is a curious collection of charms. For "quick goods"—live stock—hurt by an evil tongue, we are told to take a handful of salt, drop cat's blood into it, and give it to the animal. For ague the afflicted person is to wear night and day a written charm sealed up, the words written being—

> When Jesus saw the cross, whereon His body was to be crucified, His body did shake. The Jews said unto him, "Hast thou an ague?" He answered and said, "Whosoever keepeth this in mind or writing, shall neither be troubled with ague nor fever. So Lord help the servant that putteth his Trust in Thee."

Four versions of another semi-scriptural charm are also given, partly in Latin and partly in English. The full version ran as follows:—

> Christ in Bethlem was born, and was baptized in the water of the river Jordan, and the flood stood (the river ceased to flow). Stanch! In the name of Jesus, stanch!

This is to be said three times over softly, and the last clause is to be written in the person's blood and fixed to his or her brow, and not to be declared by the tongue to another, as the effect or benefit thereof is valued. Harland and Wilkinson do not record these in their collection of Lancashire folk-lore. There are many other charms and recipes, one of which seems to be facetious:—

> To cure (secure?) the death of a hog, take a whittle (knife) and cut his throat; and that is the cure of a hog.

One recipe is for a fishing paste, of which we read that "not any fish which swimeth in fresh waters but will greedily bite thereat." On February 1st, 1714-5, "there

was a mighty great wind that blowed several barns down and blowed almost all the thatch off every house and barn." It was the same storm that nearly demolished the ancient yew tree at Denton Chapel. On June 13th, 1715, the chapel at Monton was besieged by the Sacheverell rioters. The saying of James, Earl of Derwentwater and Earl of Kinmuir, is recorded as showing the Jacobite sympathies of these yeomen, namely, "If the prince who now governs us had given me my life I should have thought myself obliged never more to have taken up arms against him." The note-book is full of quaint information and old words respecting man and manners, of which the foregoing is only a fraction. The book itself will be preserved at the King Street Reference Library.

Friday, December 8th, 1905.

At the monthly meeting of the Society, held in Chetham's Library, the President in the chair,

Mr. Charles Roeder read an important paper on the "Beginnings of Manchester" (see page 73).

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman afterwards read a paper on "The Cromptons of Bolton," illustrated by original family records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Mr. Samuel Andrew contributed an account of "The Noble, Free, and Spirited Manchester Corps of Marines." He exhibited a hatband or ribbon, of silken material, of dark blue colour, bearing the words in gold letters: "The noble, free, and spirited Manchester Corps of Marines." The ribbon is long enough to go round a hat and leave short flowing ends, as if it were designed to be worn on a sailor's hat. The ribbons had at one time belonged to

members of the Tetlow family. Mr. Andrew stated that it was the only time he had found mention of this "corps." He gave a sketch of the history of "marines" generally, but was unable to throw light on the connection of Manchester with that body. Subsequently, however, he followed up a clue suggested by a writer in the *City News*, and obtained permission to peruse some documents kept in the muniment room of the Manchester Corporation. These consisted of five books which were deposited in the borough chest on January 2nd, 1794, by James Entwistle, the boroughreeve, containing an account of the proceedings of the committee formed for raising of corps, a list of subscriptions and expenditure, and the roll of recruits. The first meeting recorded was held at the Bull's Head, Manchester, February 19th, 1793. It was a public meeting convened by the Boroughreeve and constables for the purpose of taking into consideration the best mode of assisting the government in "the present important crisis." James Ackers, boroughreeve, was in the chair, and the following resolutions were passed: (1) That the best mode of assisting government in the present emergency is by offering additional bounties for the recruiting of the marine service over and above the king's bounty. (2) That a subscription be immediately entered into for the payment of additional bounties, and that three guineas be given to each of the first five hundred men entering the marine service at the Bull's Head Inn, Manchester. The committee was appointed, every subscriber of twenty guineas becoming a member of the committee, and loyal resolutions were ordered to be transmitted to the representatives of the crown. Mr. James Greaves was appointed treasurer and Mr. Edward Chesshyre deputy treasurer and secretary. The Miss Chesshyres were requested to prepare the cockades for the

committee and recruits, to be red and white, five dozen to be ordered immediately at two shillings each. It is noted that "Mr. Roger Farrand presented the Manchester Marine Corps with handsome ribbons to the value of £27." The accounts show over £5,000 to have been raised for the movement, nearly £3,500 of which was paid in bounties, and nearly £1,000 in outfits, consisting of cockades, ribbons, jackets, waistcoats, and trousers for one thousand and twenty-seven recruits, not including boy drummers to whom no bounties were paid. £150 was paid in gratuities for bringing recruits and nearly £100 to sergeants, drummers, and fifers. £10 was spent on rewards for apprehending deserters. Mr. Andrew's analysis of the papers contained many interesting and valuable details well worthy of being put on record concerning an incident in local history which has escaped the attention of the annalists.

Friday, January 12th, 1906.

A meeting of the Society was held in the Chetham Library, the President in the chair.

Miss Alice Johnson made a communication on "Roman Pottery found at Lancaster."*

The Earl of Liverpool contributed a paper, which was read by Mr. C. W. Sutton, on the portraits and other pictures at Holker Hall, Lancashire, the seat of Mr. Victor Cavendish. Holker Hall was the residence of the Preston family in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and still contains one picture, dated 1650, of the three daughters of George Preston by his second wife. He was connected, by his first wife and his children, to the

* This will be printed in a subsequent volume.

Ashtons of Great Lever, the Duckenfields of Duckenfield, the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower, the Ogles of Whiston, the Doddings of Cadishead, and the Bradshaighs of Haigh. By marriage the Holker and other Lancashire estates of the Prestons passed to the Lowther family of Marske, and then came to the Cavendishes on the death of Sir William Lowther, of Holker, in 1753. There is a portrait of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and one of his cousin, Sir George Cavendish, who inherited the Holker property. Sir George died at Bullock Smithy in 1794, whilst on a journey from Derbyshire to Holker. There are many interesting portraits of members of the Cavendish family from the seventeenth century down to the present day, as well as other noteworthy pictures, and Lord Liverpool's genealogical and descriptive notes on them make his catalogue a valuable record, and one that may be the means, as he hopes, of preserving the identity of portraits which otherwise might be lost or forgotten (see page 1).

Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A., read a paper on Tim Bobbin's Cavalier ancestor. John Collier, the Lancashire dialect writer, died on July 14th, 1786. He left no will, but an inventory of his goods was taken, and amongst his household possessions was a Bible, probably the one now in the Chetham Library, in which he had written that he acquired it in 1729. In this and another Bible printed in 1766, which is in the possession of one of his descendants, is a rough pedigree in the handwriting of "Tim Bobbin," and both of them state that the family descended from the Colliers of Chowbent, in the parish of Leigh, one of whom married an heiress named Harrison, of Harrison Fold, in Newton, in the parish of Mottram, in Cheshire, and had issue a son John, commonly called the Cavalier, who had a son Nathan, the

grandfather of the author of *A View of the Lancashire Dialect.* From this Nathan the descent is clearly established by recent research, but the Cavalier ancestor was considered as one of those traditions so dear to the family concerned and clung to with so much tenacity, but absolutely without evidence in support of it. After a long fruitless search for this Cavalier, Colonel Fishwick has at length found him, but proof was still wanting to establish his exact relationship to the grandfather of "Tim Bobbin." The discovery was made amongst the Lancashire Royalist Composition papers, where we find the following record: James Collier, of Newton-in-Makerfield, presented petition to the Committee for compounding for the estates of Royalists who had served against the Parliament, dated May 9th, 1645-6, in which he pleads that part of his estate was held under Lord Derby, by which subservience he was occasioned to bear arms against Parliament, but about three years before this date he had laid down his arms, and as his house had been plundered, his goods taken, and his estate sequestered, he had been forced to live where he could procure his necessary maintenance. Having taken the National Covenant, he prayed that he might be let off with a reasonable fine. A few years later (in 1649) a petition was presented by James Collier, described as of Rainford, in the parish of Prescot, in which he is said to be seized of a frank tenement for his own life and a messuage and lands in Sutton, worth nearly £15. 10s. a year; also a like estate in Rainford, of the yearly value of £4. 15s. 4d., held for two lives. He also held lands in Newton worth £11 a year, and his personal estate was valued at £30. A fine of £38. 8s. was ordered. This is undoubtedly the Cavalier referred to in the Bibles, but proof is wanting to show that Nathan Collier, of Newton-in-Mottram, was

his son. Anyhow, the fact is interesting if only to furnish another proof that in all traditions there is generally, at all events, a grain of truth.

Colonel Fishwick afterwards called the attention of the members to a fraudulent edition of Tim Bobbin's *Human Passions Delineated.*

In 1809 Robert Collier, an illegitimate grandson of Tim Bobbin, brought out an edition of *The Human Passions Delineated,* printed by Nanfan and Davies. A few years afterwards another edition was printed by J. Hartley, of Rochdale. Then followed the fraudulent edition, which still bore the name of Nanfan and Davies as printers, but Robert Collier's name had been rubbed off the copper-plate of the title, but the work was done so carelessly that part of the first stroke of the letter R remains and there are evident marks of the erasure. Many of these really third editions are still sold as the first edition of 1773.

Friday, January 26th, 1906.

The following communication (dated May 22nd, 1905) was read: Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A. (Scot.), local secretary for the Furness district, reports the discovery of two stone celts of the Neolithic Age. One was found at the Walney Road brickworks, Barrow, in March, 1904, at a depth of two to three feet in an extensive bed of upper boulder clay. The celt is of peculiar form, and tapers rapidly to the butt end. It has the sides flat, similar to other celts found at Kirkby Ireleth, Walney Island, and near Greengate Bridge, Barrow, and at Ulverston, and is made of slate of local Silurian formation. It is symmetrical in form, $4\frac{7}{8}$in.

long, 1$\frac{15}{16}$in. wide at the cutting edge, fifteen-sixteenths of an inch wide at the butt end, and seven-eighths of an inch thick. It weighs 5$\frac{1}{2}$oz., and has been ground and polished. The other celt was found in ploughing a field called Brockholes at Greenscoe Farm, Askam-in-Furness, about ten years ago, and was refound in February, 1905. The field referred to is about three-quarters of a mile from High Haume, near to which place Mr. C. M. Jopling, in his *Sketch of Furness and Cartmel*, 1843, p. 95, refers to about twenty celts or stone hammers having been found, in various states of preparation, some only in form and others finely polished. It is not unlikely that this celt may have been one of the unfinished specimens referred to. So far as I am aware this celt is the first unfinished specimen found in Furness. It is made of similar stone to the smaller one, and is 10$\frac{5}{8}$in. long, 3$\frac{5}{8}$in. wide towards the middle, 3$\frac{1}{8}$in. wide at the cutting edge, and 2in. wide at the butt end. It is 1$\frac{7}{8}$in. thick near the middle. The faces, although chipped only, are fairly smooth. It weighs 2lb. 13oz. Mr. Gaythorpe also reports the discovery of a leaf-shaped spear head at Piel Castle, where it was found in the year 1871, embedded in the mortar between stones in that portion of the inner boundary wall of the castle now lying on the shore at the south-west corner of the keep near Bass Pool. On dislodging the stone the spear head was found to be of a greenish-black colour, and was placed at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the face of the wall, and about 4ft. above the ground-level of the stonework. There were no signs of new mortar, or of the spear head having been put between the stones in modern times. The spear head was originally about 8$\frac{1}{4}$in. long, but about 1in. was broken off the socketed end in dislodging it with a boulder stone. It is 1$\frac{1}{4}$in. wide, and the socketed end

$1\frac{1}{16}$in. in diameter. The mid rib is circular in section, and there is a hollow fluting about one-sixteenth of an inch parallel to the edges of the spear head. It was probably built into the wall when the castle was founded, *c.* 1324. Mr. Gaythorpe further reports the discovery of a gold quarter noble, in getting out the foundations of a house in Crosland's Park, Barrow, in December, 1904. On the obverse side is the shield of France ancient and England quarterly, and the legend "+ EDWAR × R × ANGL × FRANC × D × HY." The reverse side has an elaborate cross fleurie within a circle of eight arches, and the legend "+ EXALTABITUR × IN × GLORIA." A similar quarter noble was found, *c.* 1880, near Hawcoat Stile, close to the footpath which leads from Furness Abbey to Hawcoat. A third specimen is referred to in Dr. Close's unpublished MSS. He states (*c.* 1810) that a gold coin of Edward III., weighing 30gr. was found between Dalton and St. Helen's Chapel by the roadside near Lock Yeates. The locked gates were formerly at the junction of a private road leading from Dalton to Elliscales, and were removed when a new road to Askam was made about twenty years ago.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

UNIV OF MICH.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council has the honour to present its Report, the twenty-third since the origin of the Society, showing its financial condition and progress during the year.

The number of new subscribing members elected during 1905 was ten, including one life member. The loss by resignation and death was nine. The numbers now on the rolls are:—

Ordinary Members	301
Life Members	42
Honorary Members	7

WINTER MEETINGS.—The monthly meetings have been held in Chetham's Hospital. The titles of the papers and short communications are as follows:—

1905.

Jan. 27.—Annual Meeting.

Feb. 10.—On the Manchester Altar to Fortuna Conservatrix. Mr. Wm. E. A. Axon, LL.D., F.R.S.L.

,, 10.—On Armour as illustrated by English Brasses. Dr. Carr.

,, 10.—On an early Manchester Post Road. Mr. William Harrison.

Mar. 10.—Recent Archæological Discoveries at Alderley Edge. Messrs. C. Roeder and F. S. Graves.

April 15.—Description of MSS. included in the Collection presented by him to the proposed Old Manchester Museum. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.

Oct. 13.—A Perforated Stone Loom Weight, found at Melandra Castle. Mr. Thomas Kay, J.P.

,, 13.—The so-called Roman Bridge which crosses the Goyt at Strines. Mr. Thomas Kay, J.P.

,, 13.—Torkington Moat. Mr. Thomas Kay, J.P.

1905.

Nov. 10.—On Dumplington and the Holcrofts, or Two Centuries of Yeoman Life. Mr. H. T. Crofton.

,, 10.—William Crabtree's Plan of the Booth Hall Estate. Mr. Ernest Axon.

,, 10.—On Hey House, Holcombe. Mr. S. W. Partington.

,, 10.—On a parchment Deed, dated 22nd July, 1617, dealing with a mosse rome or mosse doal, part of Droylsden Moss, and certain turbury rights over part of that moor. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.

Dec. 8.—Further notes on Brito-Roman Manchester. Mr. C. Roeder.

,, 8.—On the Cromptons of Bolton. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.

1906.

Jan. 12.—On Tim Bobbin. Lieut.-Col. H. Fishwick.

,, 12.—On the Holker Hall Portraits. The Earl of Liverpool.

,, 12.—On Potters' Marks on Roman Pottery found at Lancaster. Miss A. Johnson.

,, 12.—Report on Discoveries in the Furness district. Mr. Harper Gaythorpe.

The SUMMER MEETINGS were held as follows:—

1905.

May 1.—The so-called Crypt in Old Millgate.

,, 13.—Ramsbottom, for the Pilgrim's Cross on Holcombe Moor.

June 3.—Forest Chapel, the Coombes, and Toot Hill.

July 8.—Mottram Old Hall and Alderley.

,, 22.—Tideswell Church and Wheston Wayside Cross.

Aug. 12.—Newton Old Hall and Winwick Church.

Sept. 8.—Melandra Castle.

All the summer and winter meetings were well attended.

OBITUARY.—Amongst those who have passed away the Council regrets to record the following:—

William Mosley, Springfield, Cheadle, Cheshire; died 2nd April, 1905, and was interred in St. Mark's Churchyard, Worsley. He was born at Bolton. His father was a bleacher, and migrated from Bolton to Salford, and had the management of Haywood's bleaching establishment in the Adelphi, to which post his son succeeded. He went to Cheadle in 1874, where he established the Springfield bleaching works. He married Miss Slater, of Pendleton. During the last sixteen years he took only a limited part in the active work of his business. He was devoted to scientific and artistic

studies, and was a great admirer of high-class music, and had a high appreciation of architecture, especially ecclesiastical, and archæology. He joined the Society in May, 1896.

Walter Aston died on April 27th, 1905, at his residence at Macclesfield, at the age of forty-four. He was a Fellow of the Institute of British Architects, and had his office in Manchester. He designed and superintended the erection of a number of important buildings in the neighbourhood of Macclesfield. As a young man he was engaged in the office of the architect who carried out the admirable restoration of Macclesfield Church, and Mr. Aston took much pride in the share he himself had in that work. His grandfather was the well-known Joseph Aston, editor and publisher of *Aston's Exchange Herald*, and author of several valuable works describing the town and institutions of Manchester in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Mr. Walter Aston inherited his grandfather's literary and antiquarian tastes, and contributed several papers to our Society, which he joined in April, 1904. When the members visited Macclesfield in 1904 he took the leading part in organising the very complete arrangements that were made.

David Smith, J.P., died at his residence, Gordon Place, Withington, on May 10th, 1905, in his sixty-sixth year. He was formerly a cotton spinner at Spring Mill, Heywood, but latterly was engaged as a commission agent in Manchester. While resident at Heywood he took an active share in public affairs, and in 1878 was made a magistrate for the county. He had strong literary and antiquarian tastes, and had been a member of our Society since 1884.

Francis Marris Jackson, of Bowdon, was accidentally drowned on June 22nd, 1905, while fishing during a holiday tour in Vancouver's Island, British Columbia, where he had gone to visit some relations. He was in his sixty-eighth year. Of an old Manchester family of Wesleyans, he at one time formed an extensive library of Wesleyana, which he afterwards disposed of to an American college. He had a wide

acquaintance with English historical literature, and a favourite hobby of his was the compilation of indexes, several of which have been printed. One of these was an index to Ramsay's "Houses of York and Lancaster," published by the Clarendon Press, and another was the admirable index to Dr. Ward's edition of John Byrom's "Poems," issued by the Chetham Society. During recent years he had employed his leisure time in making exhaustive and interesting notes to John Wesley's "Journal." These have been partially printed in the *Journal of the Wesley Historical Society*. Mr. Jackson was an accomplished lecturer on historical and literary subjects. He joined our Society in 1894, and was a frequent attender and welcome speaker at the meetings. He was buried in Bowdon Churchyard.

Walter J. Redford, died at Deane, Bolton, on July 9th, 1905, aged sixty-one, and was interred at Deane Church. He had from early life been in the employment of firms of solicitors in Bolton and Liverpool. He took a deep interest in antiquarian subjects, particularly in connection with Bolton, and was most helpful to the members on their visits to that neighbourhood. In 1899 he contributed a paper on Bradshaw Hall. He joined the Society in 1888, and was elected a member of the Council in 1899. He was unmarried.

The Rev. Charles James Bayley, M.A., died at Broadstairs on December 25th, 1905, aged sixty years. He was educated at Cambridge, where he became a scholar of Jesus College, and graduated B.A. in 1868. He was curate of Swinton Parish Church from 1870 to 1877; then rector of Christ Church, Heaton Mersey, until 1891, when he became vicar of Ambleside, which benefice he resigned in 1896. He was a life member of the Society, which he joined in January, 1887.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—The cordial thanks of the Society are due to the Feoffees of Chetham's Hospital for their continued and much-appreciated kindness in allowing the use of the reading-room for the winter meetings, and also of a room for the meetings of the Council. The Council also desire to

tender their thanks to Mr. Walter T. Browne, the governor of the hospital, for the readiness with which he facilitates the arrangements for the meetings. The thanks of the members are also due to Mr. C. W. Sutton, M.A., Editor of the *Transactions;* Mr. William Harrison, Honorary Treasurer; and Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. The Society's thanks are also due to the Auditors, Messrs. Faithwaite and Whitaker.

Dr. Treasurer's Account from the 24th January, 1905, to the 24th January, 1906. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year—General Account	120	1	0
,, ,, Life Membership Account ...	19	19	0
Subscriptions, 263 at 10s. 6d.	138	1	6
Entrance Fees	8	8	0
Composition for Life Membership	7	7	0
Dividends on £200 Corporation Loan	5	18	10
Bank Interest	2	1	0
Sale of Two Volumes of *Transactions*	0	18	0
	£302	14	4

	£	s.	d.
Expenses at Winter Meetings	6	13	6
,, Summer Meetings	1	7	11
Postages: Hon. Secretary, Treasurer, and Editor ...	12	5	4
Clerical Help	8	8	0
Bank Commission	1	1	0
Fire Insurance	0	2	0
Printing and Stationery	4	4	6
Archæological Index	2	13	8
Printing *Transactions*, Vol. XXI. (in addition to £45 paid last year)	66	13	6
Balance—Current Account	171	18	11
,, Life Membership Account	27	6	0
	£302	14	4

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.
Balance on Current Account, as above (subject to payment of cost of Vol. XXII.)	£171	18	11
Balance on Life Membership Account	27	6	0
Manchester Corporation Mortgage	200	0	0
Books and Volumes of *Transactions*, valued at	50	0	0

Audited and found correct, 24th January, 1906.

J. R. FAITHWAITE,
JAS. WHITAKER

RULES.

Revised January, 1897.

1. PREAMBLE.—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and to promote the study of History, Literature, Arts, Customs, and Traditions, with particular reference to the antiquities of Lancashire and Cheshire.

2. NAME, &C.—This Society shall be called the "LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

3. ELECTION OF MEMBERS.—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another. Applications for admission must be submitted in writing to the Council, who shall, as soon as possible after the receipt of the application, determine the election or otherwise of the candidate. Each new member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription; and if the same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription.

Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, and to introduce a visitor, provided that the same person be not introduced to two ordinary or general meetings in the same year. Each member shall receive, free of charge, such ordinary publications of the Society as shall have been issued since the commencement of the year in which he shall have been elected, provided that he shall have paid all subscriptions then due from him. The Council shall have power to remove any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention, *on or before the 30th November*, in that year.

4. HONORARY MEMBERS.—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as honorary members.

5. HONORARY LOCAL SECRETARIES.—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

6. SUBSCRIPTIONS.—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.

7. ENTRANCE FEE.—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of half a guinea in addition to his first year's subscription.

8. LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—A payment of seven guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership, including the entrance fee.

9. GOVERNMENT.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the

Society, not more than six Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election. Any intermediate vacancy by death or retirement may be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

10. Mode of Electing Officers other than the Auditors.—The Honorary Secretary shall send out notices convening the annual meeting, and with such notices enclose blank nomination papers of members to fill the vacancies in the Council and Officers, other than the Auditor. The said notice and nomination paper to be sent to each member twenty-one days prior to the annual meeting. The nomination paper shall be returned to the Secretary not less than seven days before the annual meeting, such paper being signed by the proposer and seconder. Should such nominations not be sufficient to fill the several offices becoming vacant, the Council shall nominate members to supply the remaining vacancies. A complete list shall be printed, and in case of a contest such list shall be used as a ballot paper.

11. Sectional Committees.—The Council may from time to time appoint Sectional Committees, consisting of members of their own body and of such other members of the Society as they may think can, from their special knowledge, afford aid in such branches of archæology as the following: 1. Prehistoric Remains. 2. British and Roman Antiquities. 3. Mediæval, Architectural, and other Remains. 4. Ancient Manners and Customs, Folk-Lore, History of Local Trades and Commerce. 5. Records,

Deeds, and other MSS. 6. Numismatics. 7. Genealogy, Family History, and Heraldry. 8. Local Bibliography and Authorship.

12. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to maintain order. His decision in all questions of precedence among speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents it shall be competent for the members present to elect a chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting, the same having been submitted to the meeting of the Council immediately preceding such annual meeting. The duties of the Honorary Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a Report of the year's work, and, after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.

13. ANNUAL MEETING.—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the last week of January.

14. ORDINARY MEETINGS.—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester at 6-15 p.m., on the *second Friday* of each month, from *October* to *April*, or at such other times as the Council may appoint, for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.

15. GENERAL MEETINGS.—The Council may, from time to time, convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic

associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

16. EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION.—The Council may, from time to time, make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.

17. PUBLICATIONS.—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine. Back numbers of the *Transactions* and other publications of the Society remaining in stock may be purchased by any member of the Society at such prices as the Council shall determine.

18. PROPERTY.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees to be chosen by the Council.

19. INTERPRETATION CLAUSE.—In these Rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.

20. ALTERATION OF RULES.—These Rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member.

Date of Election.	
November 3rd, 1899	Abbott, James Henry, Heaton Mersey
December 7th, 1888	Abraham, Miss E. C., Grassendale Park, near Liverpool
September 26th, 1902	Ainscough, Jas., J.P., Crawford House, Wigan
January 27th, 1905	Albrecht, Rupert, Seedley Terrace, Pendleton
April 7th, 1899	Alderson, Rev. H. E., St. John's Rectory, Cheetham
January 9th, 1903	Allott, Chas. Wm., 519, Stretford Road, Old Trafford
March 8th, 1901	Allott, Henry Newmarch, 83, Cromwell Road, Stretford
January 9th, 1903	Allwood, T. Massey, Haslemere, Lathom, Ormskirk
June 11th, 1886	Andrew, J. D., Sunnyside, Gatley Road, Cheadle
July 25th, 1885	Andrew, Col. James, J.P., Lynwood, Westwinster Road, Eccles
February 10th, 1905	Andrew, Llewelyn, 13, Woodlands Road, Cheetham Hill
September 4th, 1883	Andrew, Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham
January 9th, 1903	Armstrong, Frank, 88, Deansgate, Manchester
October 8th, 1886	Arning, C. H., West View, Victoria Park
August 12th, 1901	Ashton, Thos., Savings Bank, Ashton-under-Lyne
January 29th, 1904	Ashworth, Mrs. A. M., Kenwyn, Sharples Park
December 4th, 1885	Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury
November 4th, 1892	Atkinson Free Library, Southport
November 5th, 1886	Attkins, Edgar, 69, Burton Road, Withington
September 4th, 1883	*Avebury, Lord, F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street, London
October 12th, 1888	Axon, Ernest, Lightcliffe, Hatherlow, near Stockport

March 21st, 1883	Axon, W. E. A., LL.D., M.R.C.L., 3, Albany Road, Southport
March 21st, 1883	*Bailey, Sir W. H., Sale Hall, Cheshire
February 7th, 1890	Barber, Robert, Winnatts Knoll, Prestwich
June 13th, 1885	Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton
January 11th, 1884	Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton
March 21st, 1883	Barraclough, Thomas, C.E., 20, Bucklersbury, London
August 11th, 1900	Barrow-in-Furness Free Library
March 21st, 1883	Bateman, C. T. Tallent-, 40, Brazennose Street, Manchester
July 30th, 1885	Bayley, Charles W., Prestwich
August 11th, 1900	Bayley, William, Craybrow, Lymm
September 22nd, 1899	Beardwell, Arthur, 46, Slade Grove, Rusholme
December 1st, 1893	Beaumont, James W., F.R.I.B.A., Fulshaw, Wilmslow
March 2nd, 1900	Behrens, Harold L., West View, Victoria Park, Manchester
November 13th, 1903	Berry, Geo. Fredk., Portland Road, Swinton
December 7th, 1883	Berry, James, Mayfield, Grimsargh, Preston
April 12th, 1901	Bickersteth, Robert, 70, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
November 3rd, 1899	Birkenhead Public Library
January 8th, 1904	Blackburn Free Library (R. Ashton, librarian)
January 19th, 1900	Bleackley, Frederick Brewer, Harboro' Road, Ashton-on-Mersey
January 11th, 1900	Bloxsom, M., Hazelwood, Crumpsall Green, Manchester
December 14th, 1900	Boddington, Rev. E., M.A., Swinton
April 7th, 1899	Bolton Public Library
July 31st, 1886	Booth, James, Parkfield House, Dickenson Road, Rusholme
September 4th, 1883	Bowden, William, Gorsefield, Patricroft
January 14th, 1898	Bowman, Dr. George, Monifieth, Old Trafford
September 24th, 1897	Bradbury, John H., 6, Bowker's Road, Bolton
April 7th, 1899	Bradford Free Library
April 12th, 1901	Briercliff, Thomas Hy., Ivy Dene, Haulgh, Bolton
November 5th, 1897	Brierley, Henry, B.A., Thornhill, Wigan
November 5th, 1886	Brimelow, William, Carlyle House, Bolton
February 5th, 1897	Brockbank, F. W., 2, Fold Street, Bolton
May 7th, 1885	*Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J.P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang
November 1st, 1895	Bromwich, F. A., 587, Stretford Road
October 7th, 1887	Brooke, Alexander, 34, Craven Hill Gardens, Bayswater, London, W.
September 28th, 1883	Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester

April 7th, 1899	Brooks, Captain S. H., J.P., Slade House, Levenshulme
June 20th, 1904	Brown, Fred, 2, North Road, St. Helens
July 14th, 1899	Brown, Joseph, J.P., Lancaster House, Upper Dicconson Street, Wigan
October 10th, 1890	†Browne, Walter T., Chetham Hospital, Manchester
	Bruton, F. A., Grammar School, Manchester
September 26th, 1899	Burgess, John, Shaftsbury House, Cheadle Hulme
December 2nd, 1887	*Butcher, S. F., Bury
March 3rd, 1899	Butterworth Walter, Lea Hurst, Bowdon
March 13th, 1903	Canning, Wm., 5, Cross Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Carington, H. H. Smith-, J.P., Grangethorpe, Rusholme, Manchester
April 7th, 1899	Carlisle Public Library
February 10th, 1904	Carr, Thos., M.D., 15, Albert Terrace, Blackpool
December 10th, 1904	Casartelli, Right Rev. L. C., Bishop of Salford, St. Bede's, Manchester
January 29th, 1904	Charlton, Wm., J.P., Burnage House, Levenshulme
October 8th, 1886	*Chesson, Rev. Wm. H., Alnwick, Northumberland
April 6th, 1900	Chorley Free Library (E. Mc.Knight, librarian)
January 13th, 1893	Chorlton, Jno. Clayton, The Priory, Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Churchill, W. S., 102, Birch Lane, Manchester
June 11th, 1886	Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield
May 8th, 1896	Clayton, Robert H., B.Sc., Woodleigh, Blackfield Lane, Kersal
April 8th, 1904	Coleman, W. H., 78, Egerton Road, Withington
February 7th, 1896	Collier, Rev. E. C., M.A., St. Peter's Vicarage, Birkdale
December 3rd, 1886	*Collier, Edward, Glen Esk, Carlton Road, Whalley Range
January 11th, 1884	Collman, Charles, Elmhurst, Ellesmere Park, Eccles
January 11th, 1895	Colombia Institute, New York
March 21st, 1883	Copinger, W. A., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Moreton House, Kersal
June 6th, 1904	Coppock, Major Sidney, Prestbury Road Macclesfield
November 7th, 1884	Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool
January 7th, 1887	Cox, George F., Albert Street, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	†Crawford, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Haigh Hall, Wigan
March 21st, 1883	Creeke, Major A. B., Westwood, Burnley
March 21st, 1883	Crofton, H. T., Oldfield, Maidenhead
October 8th, 1886	*Crompton, Rev. Alfred, M.A., Hinderwell, R.S.O., Yorkshire
October 10th, 1890	Cunliffe, William, Oak Lea, Albert Road, Heaton, Bolton
October 7th, 1887	Curnick, H. D., West Lind, Woodville Rd., Bowdon

March 21st, 1883	†Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., Victoria Park, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Darbyshire, Alfred, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., Brazennose Street, Manchester
March 2nd, 1900	Davies, Samuel, M.S.A., Alvanley House, Frodsham
March 21st, 1883	Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., Fallowfield House, Fallowfield
March 21st, 1883	Dawkins, Mrs., Fallowfield House, Fallowfield
September 26th, 1889	Dean, John, 31, Market Place, Middleton
November 2nd, 1883	Dearden, J. Griffith, Walcot Hall, Stamford
September 14th, 1897	*Derby, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Knowsley
March 21st, 1883	*Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London
April 17th, 1903	Dickson, E. H. L., 44, Bolton Road, Pendleton
October 8th, 1898	Dodd, John, Werneth Road, Oldham
May 10th, 1904	Doxey, Rev. J. P., Christ Church Vicarage, Bacup
June 6th, 1904	Duncalf, Frank M., West Park Road, Macclesfield
January 15th, 1886	Duncan, James, M.B., 24, Richmond Street, Ashton-under-Lyne
November 3rd, 1893	Edelston, John A., Norton Lodge, Halton, Cheshire
April 12th, 1901	Edwards, Francis, Norley Grange, 73, Leyland Road, Southport
March 21st, 1883	*Egerton, Right Hon. the Earl, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford
September 22nd, 1899	Elton, Thomas, Edenfield, near Bury
June 11th, 1886	*Ermen, Henry E., Rose Bank, Bolton Road, Pendleton
March 21st, 1883	Esdaile, George, C.E., The Old Rectory, Platt Lane, Rusholme
March 21st, 1883	*Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Britwell, Berkhamsted, Herts.
December 14th, 1900	Evans, L. C., Town Clerk, Salford; Riverslea, Palatine Road, Didsbury
May 4th, 1883	Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank, Mosley Street
January 26th, 1906	Farrer, Arthur, 224, Birch Lane, Dukinfield
January 29th, 1885	Farrer, William, Hall Garth, Carnforth
October 11th, 1896	*Fearnhead, Joseph, 15, Park Street, Bolton
January 13th, 1899	Finlayson, John, 4, Woodlands, Daisy Bank Road, Longsight
June 20th, 1904	Firth, Daniel, Hall Green, Dukinfield
March 21st, 1883	Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Heights, Rochdale
July 19th, 1898	Folkard, H. T., F.S.A., Free Public Library, Wigan

September 29th, 1905	Fray, Albert H., Examiner Buildings, Strutt Street, Manchester
February 6th, 1885	French, Col. Gilbert J., V.D., Thornydikes, Bolton
June 13th, 1885	French, Mrs., Thornydikes, Bolton
December 9th, 1886	*Frost, Robert, B.Sc., 55, Kensington Court, London, W.
May 4th, 1883	Gadd, Right Rev. Monsignor, V.G., Barton, near Manchester
March 6th, 1896	Gandy, Barton, Stevens Street, Alderley
March 21st, 1883	Gill, Richard, 12, Tib Lane, Cross Street, Manchester
December 2nd, 1887	Gillibrand, W., M.R.C.S., Parkfield House, Chorley Road, Bolton
May 4th, 1883	Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side
March 4th, 1898	Gradisky, C. J. Holt, 5, School Road, Didsbury
January 9th, 1903	Graves, F. S., Ballamona, Trafford Road, Alderley Edge
March 10th, 1905	Graves, T. H., Glen Moor, Wilmslow
June 20th, 1904	Green, J. A., Moss Side Library
September 18th, 1885	Greenough, Richard, J.P., Church Street, Leigh
November 9th, 1900	Guppy, Henry, M.A., Parsonage Road, Withington
June 11th, 1886	Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon
November 7th, 1884	Hall, James, Edale, Broad Road, Sale
October 10th, 1890	Hall, Oscar S., Park Cottage, Bury
January 25th, 1901	Hallatt, G. W. Tuxford, 8, King Street, Manchester
January 27th, 1899	Halliwell, Charles, 158, Oldham Road, Shaw
November 6th, 1892	Hamilton, Thomas, The Elms, Altrincham
March 4th, 1898	Hamnett, Robert, 24, Norfolk Street, Glossop
December 5th, 1890	Hanson, George, Free Library, Rochdale
September 2nd, 1889	Harker, Robert B., 2, Berkley Avenue, Victoria Park, Manchester
February 6th, 1885	Harrison, William, 28, Booth Street, Manchester
June 13th, 1885	Heape, Charles, Hartley, High Lane, near Stockport
December 7th, 1883	Heape, Joseph R., Hartley, High Lane, near Stockport
March 2nd, 1900	Heape, Richard, Hall Bank, Rochdale
March 21st, 1883	Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan
October 7th, 1892	Henderson, George, 18, Nelson Square, Bolton
December, 1902	Henn, Rev. Canon H., M.A., The Vicarage, Bolton
September 4th, 1883	Hewitson, Anthony, Queen's Road, Fulwood, Preston
April 12th, 1901	Heywood, Jno., The Pike, Bolton
March 21st, 1883	Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Strest, Manchester
May, 1902	Heywood, Thomas, 23, Queen Street, Oldham
March 3rd, 1899	Hindley, Charles E., Polygon, Eccles

October 8th, 1886	*Holden, Arthur T., Sharples Hall, Bolton
April 7th, 1899	Holt, Oliver S., Great Central Station, Marylebone, London
December 7th, 1888	Hornby, Miss Clara, 11, Beauchamp Street, Stockport
January 11th, 1884	*Houldsworth, Sir W. H., Bart., 35, Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.
March 7th, 1884	Howorth, Daniel F., 24, Villiers Square, Ashton-under-Lyne
March 21st, 1883	†Howorth, Sir Henry H., F.R.S., F.S.A., 30, Collingham Place, Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
February 1st, 1895	Hudson, Rev. H. A., M.A., Holy Trinity Rectory, 445, Stretford Road, Manchester
March 4th, 1887	*Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., 78, Church Street, Lancaster
March 21st, 1883	Hulton, Sir W. W. B., Bart., Hulton Park, Bolton
February 9th, 1906	Hyde, Hon. John, F.R.G.S., F.S.S., Lanier's Heights, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
September, 1904	Illingworth, Walter, The Woodlands, Blackburn
September 26th, 1889	Jackson, John R.
September 2nd, 1899	John Rylands Library, Manchester
January 10th, 1902	Johnson, Miss Alice, 12, Castle Park, Lancaster
April 24th, 1896	Joynson, R. H., Chasefield, Bowdon
May 2nd, 1885	Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley
September 22nd, 1899	Kay, S., J.P., Charleston House, Davenport, Stockport
June 11th, 1886	*Kay, Thomas, J.P., Moorfield, Stockport
December 14th, 1900	Keen, James, Hindley Green
December 1st, 1899	*Kenyon, The Right Hon. Lord, Gredington, Whitchurch
January 14th, 1898	King, Alfred, Bleasdale, Garstang
October 10th, 1890	*Kirkham, William H., Prideaux Road, Eastbourne
March 21st, 1883	Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street, Manchester
January 26th, 1904	Knott, J. R., 103, Union Street, Oldham
November 13th, 1903	*Knowles, Sir Lees, Bart., Westwood, Pendlebury
March 7th, 1890	Lancaster, Alfred, Free Library, St. Helens
April 7th, 1899	Lancaster Public Library
October 12th, 1888	Larmuth, George H., F.S.I., The Grange, Handforth
September 24th, 1897	Larmuth, G. Harold, The Grange, Handforth
January 27th, 1899	Law, Miss, Roslin, Manor Avenue, Urmston
July 18th, 1885	*Lawton, Mrs., Altrincham

May, 1902	Leach, R. E., M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., The Croft, Yealand Conyers, Carnforth
March 21st, 1883	Leech, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range
December 7th, 1883	Leech, Miss M. L., Glendale, Bloomsbury Road, Timperley
	Leeds Free Library (T. W. Hand, Librarian)
April 26th, 1889	*Lees, John W., Greengate, Chadderton, Oldham
June 11th, 1886	*Lever, Ellis, Colwyn Bay
March 31st, 1885	*Liverpool, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.S.A., Kirkham Abbey, York
December 13th, 1901	Long, William, 77, Lansdowne Road, West Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Lord, Henry, J.P., 42, Deansgate, Manchester
March 13th, 1903	Maclure, Alan F., 36, Brazennose Street, Manchester
January 9th, 1903	Madeley, Charles, The Museum, Warrington
August 15th, 1885	*Makinson, W. G., The Florida, Ashton-on-Ribble
March 21st, 1883	March, H. Colley, M.D., F.S.A., Portesham, Dorchester
December 12th, 1902	Marquis, Jas. T., Manchester and County Bank Limited, Colne
June 6th, 1904	Marsh, J. Hedley, M.R.C.S., Jordan Gate, Macclesfield
October 9th, 1903	Martin, Dr. Richard J., Buckley House, Atherton
March 21st, 1883	Martin, William Young, M.D., J.P., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton
November 5th, 1886	Massey, Arthur W., 55, Cecil Street, Greenheys
January 9th, 1903	May, Thos., F.S.A. (Scot.), Lonmay, Lower Walton, Warrington
March 10th, 1905	Maybury, John Henry, F.M.S.A., 25, Booth Street, Manchester
November 1st, 1895	Mayer, Charles, Architect, John Dalton Street, Manchester
February 3rd, 1899	Middleton, Thomas, 8, Manchester Road, Hyde
April 12th, 1901	Miller, Dr. A. K., Holmfield, Darley Avenue, West Didsbury
March 21st, 1883	Milner, George, M.A., J.P., Elmscot, Timperley
March 21st, 1883	Moorhouse, Frederick, Westfield, Bramhall
December 14th, 1900	Morris, Wilmot Banks, 17, Acresfield, Bolton
January 8th, 1892	Moss, Fletcher, J.P., Old Parsonage, Didsbury
November 3rd, 1899	Moss, William J., 5, Cross Street, Manchester
January 6th, 1903	Mounsey, Miss Grasmere, Manley Road, Manchester
January 6th, 1903	Mounsey, William Grasmere, Manley Road, Manchester
October 6th, 1903	Mountain, A. H., Douglas Lane, Northender
[illegible]	Mason, Ben H., M.A., Pee Park, Salford
November 8th, 1902	Myers, T. Harrison, Lea Lodge, Preston

January 27th, 1892	Neal, Thomas Dale, Wilmslow
October 7th, 1887	*Neville, Charles, Bramhall Hall, Stockport
January 14th, 1898	New York Public Library
March 21st, 1883	Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton
June 26th, 1883	Newton, C. E., Watling Gate, Timperley
September 4th, 1883	Nicholson, Albert, Portinscale, Hale, Bowdon
April 7th, 1899	Nicholson, E. W. B., M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford
June 20th, 1904	Nickson, Henry, Belmont, Seafield Road, Lytham
August, 1899	Nuttall, J. R., 13, Thornfield, Lancaster
March 6th, 1896	Ogden, J. N., J.P., Piccadilly, Manchester
October 8th, 1886	Oldham Free Library
January 20th, 1904	Oldham, J. S., 3, Beech Road, Hale Road, Altrincham
October 11th, 1895	Ormerod, Benjamin, Sandywood, Pendlebury
Jannary 31st, 1890	Ormerod, J. P., Castleton, near Manchester
April 2nd, 1886	*Owen, Major-General C. H., R.A., Hanley, Camberley, Surrey
January 11th, 1895	Parker, John, Springfield Lane Oil Works, Salford
January 26th, 1894	Parker, Thomas, 49, Trevelyan Buildings, Corportion Street, Manchester
April 12th, 1901	Partington, S. W., 11, Lethbridge Road, Southport
March 21st, 1883	Pearson, George, Marsden Square, Manchester
September 26th, 1889	Pearson, Joseph, 45, The Crescent, Salford
January 27th, 1892	Pearson, Mrs., 45, The Crescent, Salford
May 4th, 1883	Peel, Robert, Fair Oaks, Wilmslow
February 10th, 1905	Pendleton, Basil, 16, Brazennose Street, Manchester
November 6th, 1876	*Phelps, Josh. J., 46, The Park, Eccles
April 27th, 1904	Philips, Mrs. Herbert, Sutton Oaks, Macclesfield
June 20th, 1904	Plummer, Henry, J.P., Hazeldene, Fallowfield
February 13th, 1903	Pownall, Joseph Boothby, 127, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne
April 7th, 1889	Preston, R. Basnett, F.R.I.B.A., 51, South King Street, Manchester
September 22nd, 1899	Pugh, Rev. George Augustus, M.A., R.D., The Rectory, Ashton-under-Lyne
August 22nd, 1903	Quine, Dr. A. H., 1, Sandy Grove, Eccles Old Road, Pendleton
January 9th, 1903	Radcliffe, R. D., M.A., F.S.A., Old Swan, Liverpool
October 17th, 1884	Reid, David, Bower Bank, Bowdon
January 13th, 1899	Ridyard, John, F.G.S., Hilton Bank, Little Hulton

September 29th, 1884	Rimmer, John H., M.A., LL.M., Bank House, Bickerton, Malpas
December 8th, 1905	Roberts, Fredk. Walter, 56, Mersey Road, Heaton Mersey
December 14th, 1900	Robinow, Mrs., 5, Rue Clément Marot, Paris
May 2nd, 1885	*Robinson, J. B., St. Elmo, 21, Moorfield Road, West Didsbury
December 21st, 1892	Robinson, Captain Marshall, 24, Nelson Square, Bolton
November 3rd, 1893	Robinson, W. H., Blackfriars Street, Manchester
February 4th, 1887	†Roeder, Charles, South Parade, Manchester
July 26th, 1884	*Roper, W. O., F.S.A., Yealand Conyers, Carnforth
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March 21st, 1883	Russell, Rev. Canon E. J., M.A., The Vicarage, Todmorden
January 19th, 1900	Sandbach, J. C. H., 25, Albert Road, Southport
May 4th, 1883	Sandbach, J. E., Albert Square, Bowdon
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April 14th, 1885	*Schwabe, Charles, Green Bank, Fairfield, Buxton
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November 5th, 1897	Seed, George H., Glendene, Darley Avenue, West Didsbury
November 3rd, 1893	Sever, W. M., Nant y Coed, Conway
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June 20th, 1904	Shann, Sir T. Thornhill, J.P., Heaton Norris
March 21st, 1883	Shaw, Giles, 4, Ash Street, Southport
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September 18th, 1903	Sidebottom, Henry Hastings, 38, Lancaster Avenue, Manchester
May 8th, 1896	Simpson, Jonathan, 14, Acresfield, Bolton
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April 6th, 1889	Smithies, Harry, 21, Rectory Road, Crumpsall
January 13th, 1899	Snape, Henry, Broadhill Cottage, Arnside
October 9th, 1903	Sparke, Archd., Public Library, Bury
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June 20th, 1904	Stanfield, William, City Art Gallery, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	Stanning, Rev. Canon J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire
October 12th, 1894	Stead, Alice M., 3, Belgrave Place, Birkdale Road, Southport

October 11th, 1895	Stead, Edward F., 10, Adelaide Terrace, Waterloo, Liverpool
January 11th, 1900	Stocks, A. W., M.D., The Crescent, Cheadle, Cheshire
July 26th, 1884	*Storey, Herbert L., J.P., D.L., Lancaster
September 23rd, 1901	Stott, Henry, 9, Bromwich Street, Bolton
September 23rd, 1901	Stott, Julius, 342, Droylsden Road, Newton Heath
March 6th, 1896	Sutcliffe, William Henry, F.G.S., Shore Cottage, Littleborough
March 21st, 1883	†Sutton, Charles W., M.A., 321, Great Clowes Street, Higher Broughton
November 9th, 1900	Swarbrick, John, 30, St. Ann Street, Manchester
April 2nd, 1886	*Tatham, Leonard, M.A., 1, St. James's Square, Manchester
October 12th, 1888	Tatton, Thomas E., Wythenshawe Hall
November 7th, 1884	Taylor, Alexander, Fern Royd, Walmersley Road, Bury
January 29th, 1902	Taylor, George, Buena Vista, Withington
March 21st, 1883	Taylor, Henry, F.S.A., Braeside, Tunbridge Wells, and Birklands, Southport
October 11th, 1896	Taylor, Isaac, 22, Birch Grove, Rusholme
November 1st, 1895	Taylor, J. C., The Gables, Bramhall Park, Cheadle Hulme
March 21st, 1883	Taylor, Joshua, 277, Moorside, Droylsden
April 7th, 1899	Taylor, Walter, Milverton Lodge, Victoria Park, Manchester
October 8th, 1897	Taylor, Walter T., Wood End, Bromley Cross, Bolton
January 9th, 1903	Telford, Robert, 14, Lansdowne Road, West Didsbury
January 9th, 1903	Thomas, Joseph, Garstang
April 11th, 1902	Thompson, Jabez, Abbotsford, Cuddington, Northwich
April 17th, 1903	Tong, Livsey, L.R.C.P., 551, Chorley Old Road, Bolton
October 8th, 1896	*Tristram, William H., New Bridge Mill, Breightmet, Bolton
August 22nd, 1903	Turnbull, William, Fernclough, Stubbins
November 6th, 1896	Turner, James, Halliwell Street, Corporation Street, Manchester
February 5th, 1886	Turner, William, Purby Chase, Atherstone
July 31st, 1886	Underdown, H. W., Birkbeck Bank Chambers, Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.
December 7th, 1883	Waddington, William Angelo, St. Ann's Square, Manchester

July 8th, 1899	Wagstaff, John, Mottram House, Mottram-in-Longdendale
July 31st, 1886	Wales, George Carew, Conservative Club, Manchester
April 12th, 1901	Wall, William, Upper Dicconson Street, Wigan
December 8th, 1905	Walmsley, Oswald, Prestwich Park
March 2nd, 1894	Warburton, Samuel, Egerton Lodge, Bury Old Road, Manchester
November 6th, 1885	Warburton, W. Daulby M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham
March 21st, 1883	*Ward, James, B.A., Avenue Terrace, Leigh
April 30th, 1906	Waterhouse, Alfred, 155, Burton Road, West Didsbury
June 11th, 1886	*Waters, Edwin H., Millmead, Axmouth, Colyford, Devon
July 31st, 1886	Watson, W. Alfred, 11, Mayfield Grove, Embden Street, Hulme
October 12th, 1888	*Watt, Miss, Speke Hall, near Liverpool
April 6th, 1894	Watts, James, Abney Hall, Cheadle
September 24th, 1897	*Wearing, James W., M.A., J.P., Fleet Square, Lancaster
June 18th, 1898	Webster, W. D., Home Court, 24, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.
January 27th, 1905	Weeks, William Self, F.R.H.S., Church Brow, Clitheroe
December 1st, 1899	Whitaker, James, 5, Clifton Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy
November 6th, 1896	Whowell, Fred, Crouch Hey, Tottington, Bury
March 10th, 1905	Wild, Professor R. B., M.D., Broome House, Fallowfield
December 21st, 1892	Wilkinson, J. P., C.E., 7, Arcade Chambers, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester
March 21st, 1883	*Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Belmont, Sidmouth, South Devon
January 26th, 1900	Wood, Thomas H., 362, St. Helens Road, Bolton
April 11th, 1890	Woodhouse, Samuel T., Abbotsley, Knutsford
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MANCHESTER:
RICHARD GILL, TIB LANE
CROSS STREET.

INDEX

OF

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IN

1904

[BEING THE FOURTEENTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891–1904]

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1905

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[*Those Transactions for the first time included in the index are marked with an asterisk,* the others are continuations from the indexes of* 1891–1902. *Transactions included for the first time are indexed from* 1891 *onwards.*]

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NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured, the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all Transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the Transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, c/o ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co., LTD., 16, James Street, Haymarket, London.

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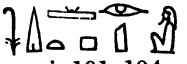
WAINWRIGHT (G. A.). The formula  in the light of mythology. *Bibl. Arch. Soc. xxvi.* 101–104.

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Churches: *Adams, Andrews, B., Bailey (Rev. A. W.), Bailey (H.), Barber, Baylay, Berry, Bevan, Bilson, Bingham, Bonser, Boston, Bower, Brereton, Brunskill, Chamberlin, Chancellor, Collinson, Congreve, Cox, Dancey, Dixon, Eastwood, Enys, F., Fellows, Footman, Forsyth, Fowler, Gaythorpe, Gerish, Gill, Glynne, Gregory, Halliday, Harris, Harrison, Hayward, Hill, Hill (A. G.), Hodgson, Hope, Hubbard, Hughes, Jackson, Johns, Johnson, Johnston, Jordan, Keyser, King, Knowles, Leader, Leigh, Livett, Lynam, Martindale, Micklethwaite, Millard, Nairne, Newnham, Noble, Norman, Ogle, Oldham, O'Reilly, Paul, Peter, Phillimore, Pollard, Potter, Prior, Reid, Renshaw, Rigby, Robertson, Rowley, Saunders, Scott, Shepherd, Standish, Stevenson, Sutton, Talbot, Taylor, Thomas, Tomlinson, Tower, Waller, Wardell, Weeks, Weyman, Whitbread, Whiteside, Wood. See* "Somerton," "Woolwich."
Churches (French): *Congreve.*
Churchwardens' accounts: *Barber, Davis, Ellis, Kemp, Vane, Walters.*
Churchyards: *FitzGerald.*
Churston Ferrers: *Adams.*
Circumcision: *Bagge.*
Cirencester: *Haverfield.*
Clare: *See* "Bodyke," "Crannoge," "Kiltoola," "Kyleane," "Lehinck."

Cleator : *Martindale.*
Cley : *Micklethwaite.*
Clonegal : *French.*
Clonliffe : *Cosgrave.*
Clontygora : *Hall.*
Clydeside : *Astley.*
Coggeshall : *Round.*
Colchester : *Round, Thompson.*
Cold Ashton : *Bush.*
Cole manuscripts : *Parker.*
Colerne : *Blathwayt.*
Columbia, British : *Tout.*
Combats : *Dillon.*
Companies, public : *Latimer.*
Compton Place : *Hawkesbury.*
Congo, Upper : *Weeks.*
Cork : *Lunham, Moore.*
Cornwall : *Baring-Gould, Enys, Iago, Whitley, Williams, Worth. See* "St. Piran's," "Stratton," "Trewhiddle," "Truro."
Corporation plate : *Bensly, Hope.*
Corsham : *Talbot.*
Costock : *Millard.*
Coupland : *Culley.*
Covenham : *Durham.*
Coventry : *Whitley.*
Crannoge at Mountcashel, co. Clare : *Westropp.*
Cressage : *Auden.*
Cressing : *F.*
Crete : *Evans.*
Cromlech : *Parkinson.*
Crosses : *Collingwood, Curle, Fitz-Gerald, O'Reilly, Taylor.*
Crosthwaite : *Rawnsley.*
Crystal : *Dalston.*
Culham : *Pearman.*
Cumberland : *Bailey, Haverfield, Hinds, Thompson. See* "Bowness," "Brampton," "Cleator," "Crosthwaite," "Ewanrigg," "Kirkoswald," "Lammerside," "Naworth," "Nether Levens." "Stainton-in-Furness," "Sunken-kirk," "Thirlmere."
Cups : *Abercromby, Read.*
Cutlery (Sheffield) : *Leader.*
Cyprus : *Myres.*

Dagger-money : *Longstaffe.*
Darley : *Cox.*
Death's head spoon : *Micklethwaite.*
Denbigh : *Palmer.*
Denby Old Hall : *Burton, Currey.*
Depwade : *Hopper.*
Derbyshire : *Bowles, Field, Kirke. See* "Barrow," "Brough," "Darley," "Denby," "Stanley Grange," "Twyford," "Youlgreave."
Derbyshire gaol : *Filleul.*
Designs, Magic origin of Moorish : *Westermarck.*
Dessi : *Meyer.*
Devonshire : *Amery, Saunders, Wainwright, Williams. See* "Barnstaple," "Barrow," "Broadhempston," "Churston Ferrers," "Exbourne," "Hallsands," "Kenton," "Newton Abbot," "Stockleigh English," "Tawton," "Teign," "Teignmouth," "Tiverton," "Totnes."
Digswell : *Pollard.*
Dilham : *Brittain.*
Dinsdale : *Eastwood.*
Dirk, the Highland : *Whitelaw.*
Dolmens, Cornish : *Whitley.*
Domesday : *Berkshire, Field, Leadam, Reichel, Round, Whale.*
Dorsetshire : *Barnes, Raven, Prideaux. See* "Milton," "Milton Abbey," "Sherborne," "Shillingston."
Dublin, St. Anne's gild : *Berry, Omurethi.*
Duels : *Ficklin.*
Dundee : *Millar.*
Dundonnell : *Orpen.*
Durham castle : *Gee.*
Durham cathedral : *Fowler, Greenwell, Taylor.*
Durham, Galilee well at : *Fowler.*
Durham : *See* "Sockburn," "Dinsdale," "Heighington," "Middleton St. George," "Sunderland."
Durrington : *Kirby.*
Dyfed : *Green.*

Earlstone : *Money.*
East Bridgford : *Hill.*
East Leake : *Bagnall-Wild, Briscoe, Potter.*
Eastbourne and Westbourne : *Mee.*
Eastwick : *Rowley.*
Ecclesfield : *Leader.*
Edgehill : *Money.*
Edlingham : *Knowles.*
Education, Welsh : *Williams.*
Edwinstowe : *Baylay.*
Effigies : *See* "Monuments."

Egyptian antiquities : *Choisy, Clarke, Hill, Murray, Naville, Newberry, Petrie, Peers, Price, Sayce, Stanley, Walker.*
—— language : *Revillout.*
Eltham : *Eltham.*
Ellesmere : *Tower.*
Enniscorthy : *Flood.*
Erlestoke : *Watson-Taylor.*
Esegarestona (Esgarston) *v.* East Garston : *Wethered. See* "Argus'on."
Essex : *Waller. See* "Braintree," "Chichester," "Chigwell," "Chingford," "Coggeshall," "Colchester," "Cressing," "Great Dunmow." "Norsey Wood," "Ongar," "Rayne," "Rochford Hall," "Saffron Walden," "South Weald," "Stifford," "White Notley." "Yaspen."
Essex charters : *Round.*
—— churches : *Chancellor, Lynam.*
—— clergy in 1294 : *Round.*
—— monasteries : *Fowler.*
—— families : *Round.*
—— fines : *Round.*
Ewanrigg : *Curwen.*
Exbourne : *Oldham.*
Exeter cathedral : *Robinson.*

Farringdon : *Ditchfield.*
Fawsley : *Dryden.*
Fethard : *Lynn.*
Fifield : *Field.*
Finance and accounts : *Graham, Howlett.*
Fisherfolk : *Robie.*
Fireplaces : *Fowler.*
Fleury cup : *Moore.*
Flintshire : *Hodkinson, Hughes, Palmer, Taylor. See* "Hawarden."
Folklore : *Amery, Astley, Axon, Bower, Bridge, Burne, Cartwright, Caswall, Church, Clark, Cook, Cope, Crooke, Cundall, Davies, Dawkins, Dolan, Ellis, Freer, Gaster, Gerish, Gomme, Hallam, Harris, Hartland, Howell, Howitt, Hull, Jewitt, Jones, Kirk, Macdonald, Mackinlay, Marett, Matthews, Milne, Parsons, Peachey, Peacock, Potter, Powell, Prior, Rivers, Robie, Rosedale, Rouse, Shearme, Singleton, Stow, Turner, Underdown, Vane, Walker, Wardle, Webb, Weeks, Werner, Wherry, Williams, Worth.*
Forde : *Shickle.*
Forests : *Kershaw.*
Fosse fishponds : *Cooper.*
Fotheringhay : *Brereton, Cox.*
Fritwell : *B.*
Furness : *Gaythorpe, Kendall.*

Galway : *Knox. See* "Levally Dolmen."
Gateshead : *Clephan.*
Gedling : *Whitbread.*
Genealogy, biography and family history : *Adamson, Andrews, Arnold, Attree, Auden, Axon, Aylmer, Boutflower, Briscoe, Brown, Bulkeley-Owen, Burtchaell, Burton, Bush, Carr, Cheney, Clarkson, Cooke, Cooper, Dimock, Dunsford, Eginton, Ellis, Fellows, FitzGerald, Fletcher, Foulkes, Garstin, Green, Guiseppi, Hall, Hinds, Hodgson, Hughes, Humphreys, Johnston, Johnston (P. M.), Kendrick, Langrishe, Lawrance, Lethbridge, Long, Mackay, Macnamara, Massey, Maurice, Minet, Musters, Oglesby, O'Leary, Palmer, Parker, Round, Russell, Sanders, "signet bill," Standish, Staunton, Thomas, Thompson, Tingey, Verney, Ward, White-Thompson, Williams, Willis-Bund, Wood, Wrottesley, Yeatman.*
Germany : *Hilton.*
Glamorganshire : *See* "Llandough," "Newton Nottage."
Glasgow : *Mitchell, Neilson, Taylor.*
Glass (ancient) : *Barber.*
Glass (coloured) : *Aitchison.*
Glastonbury : *Hope.*
Glastonbury lake village : *Bulleid.*
Glencorse : *Reid.*
Gloucester : *Bazeley, Leigh, Taylor.*
Gloucestershire : *Smith, Were. See* "Brockworth," "Bristol," "Cirencester," "Gloucester," "Cold Ashton," "Painswick," "St. Mary of South Gate," "Tibberton," "Wansdyke."
Goedendag : *Clephan.*

Gonalston : *Baylay.*
Goosey : *Stevenson.*
Gosforth : *Parker.*
Gotham : *Stapleton.*
Grail, the Holy : *Wardle.*
Grange Con : *Drury.*
Graves : *Hughes.*
Great Dunmow : *Gould.*
Greatham : *Reynolds.*
Greek antiquities : *Bosanquet, Cronin, Daniel, Dawkins, Edgar, Evans, Gardiner, Gardner, Hall, Harrison, Hasluck, Hogarth, Homolle, McDowall, Marshall, Munro, Murray, Oppé, Ramsay, Sewell, Waldstein, Worsfold, Wroth.*
Gresford : *Palmer.*
Guildford Castle : *Bax.*
Guildown and the Pilgrim's Way : *Malden.*
Gunnerton : *Hornby.*
Gunpowder Plot : *Humphreys.*

Hafod Lwyfog : *Hughes.*
Halford, Richard, signet bill conferring baronetcy upon : *signet bill.*
Hallsands and Start Bay : *Worth.*
Hampshire : *See* "Barton Stacey," "Cheriton," "Earlstown," "Romsey," "Silchester," "Whitchurch."
Hampstead : *Newton.*
Harbottle : *Dixon.*
Hardwick Hall : *Brodhurst.*
Harehope : *Holmes.*
Harmondsworth : *Taylor.*
Harwich : *Round.*
Hats and Caps, College : *Clark.*
Haughley Park : *Dimock.*
Haverfordwest : *Phillips.*
Hawarden : *Whittaker.*
Hayton : *Hawkesbury.*
Hedsor : *Boston.*
Heighington : *Hodgson.*
Helmingham : *Roundell.*
Henry III. : *Turner.*
Henry VII. : *Gairdner.*
Hepple Woodhouses : *Dixon.*
Heraldry : *B., Bax, Carr, Ellis, Frere, Green, Greenfield, Landon, Latimer, Mackay, Shickle, Were.*
Hereford : *Leigh.*
Herefordshire : *See* "Abbey Dore."
Hertfordshire : *Wingrave. See* "Anstey," "Ashwell," "Chesthunt," "Eastwick," "Hertingfordbury," "Much Hadham," "St. Albans," "Theobalds," "Tewin," "Verulam," "Widford."
Hertingfordbury : *Andrews.*
Hexham : *Ogle.*
Hobkirk : *Curle.*
Holderness : *Brown.*
Holme Pierrepont : *Gill.*
Horns : *Bridge.*
Horse trappings : *Read.*
Hospitals : *Reynolds, Weyman.*
Hotwells (Bristol) : *Griffiths.*
Houses, historic : *Baker, Blathwayt, Brodhurst, Brown, Burton, Calverley, Chancellor, Clark-Maxwell, Collingwood, Currey, Curwen, Dimock, Dixon, Dryden, Fellows, FitzGerald, Flood, Graham, Lugton, Medland, Mitchell-Withers, Money, Newton, Roundell, Rye, Wetherall.*
Housesteads : *Bosanquet.*
Hoveringham : *Baylay.*
Huggate : *Yorkshire.*
Hungerford : *Ditchfield.*
Hurley : *Wethered.*

Ibstone : *Forsyth.*
Idbury : *Marshall.*
Inchiquin : *Macnamara.*
Iniscathay : *Flood.*
Inns : *Kitton.*
Inquisitions : *Blagg, Gay.*
Inscriptions : *Orpen, Sayce, Southam, Wainwright.*
  Greek : *Sayce.*
  Ogham : *Anderson, Iago, Macalister.*
  Palmyrene : *Hodgkin.*
  Phœnician : *See* "Sumatra."
  Rock : *Prowse.*
Inventories, deeds, etc. : *Bolingbroke, Drinkwater, Fowler, Marshall, Taylor, Wadsworth, Welford, Wrottesley, Yorkshire.*
Ipswich : *Layard.*
Ireland : *Fahey, FitzGerald, Flood, Kelly, Knox, Mayo, Moore, Orpen, O'Reilly, Wall, Westropp, Wood. See* "Antrim," "Ardee Castle Guard," "Baginbun," "Barnaglitty," "Brize Castle," "Cashel," "Clare," "Clonegal,"

"Clonliffe," "Clontygora," "Cork," "Enniscorthy," "Fethard," "Galway," "Grange Con," "Inchiquin," "Iniscathay," "Kilbannon," "Kilcomenty," "Kilkenny," "Kilmacduagh," "Knappaghmanagh," "Knockmoy," "Kyleane," "Limerick," "Lismore," "Loughrea," "Louth," "Meath," "Monaghan," "Monasterevin," "Moneydig," "Portnahinch," "Tipperary," "Tuam," "Windgates," "Youghal."
Ireland, Judges of: *Ball, Kelly.*
Iron: *Aitchison.*
Irthlingborough: *Brown.*

Judiciary: *Ball, Kelly, Morris, Reichel.*
Juxon: *B., Green.*

Kendal: *Collingwood.*
Kenninghall: *Howlett, Taylor.*
Kent: *Cheney, Rhodes, Vincent.* *See* "Chislehurst," "Eltham."
Kenton: *Bingham.*
Kenwaldi's castle: *Gray.*
Kerry Straw Cloak: *O'Reilly.*
Keynsham: *Shickle.*
Kieff: *Meakin.*
Kilbannon: *Kelly.*
Kilcomenty: *Berry.*
Kildare: *O'Grady, Omurethi.*
Kilkenny: *Langrishe.*
Killineer: *Morris.*
Kilmacduagh: *Cochrane, Fahey.*
Kilnasaggart stone: *Morris.*
Kiltoola, co. Clare: *Westropp.*
King's board: *Medland.*
Kirkoswald: *Thornley.*
Knappaghmanagh: *Knox.*
Knockmoy: *Cochrane, Glynn.*
Kyleane: *Stacpoole.*

Lace: *Lee.*
Lacock: *Clark-Maxwell, Talbot.*
Lambourn: *Footman.*
Lammerside: *Cowper.*
Lancashire: *Hollins, Taylor.* *See* "Bury," "Castle Arnaby," "Furness," "Low Furness," "Millom," "Newchurch," "Northscall."
Land Buyers' Society: *Rye.*
Land tenure: *Maclean, Phear.*
Langbank pile dwelling: *Bruce, Bryce.*
Lansdown: *Shickle, Winwood.*
Laughton-en-la-Morthen: *Rigby.*
Law: *Owen, Reichel.*
Laxton: *Collinson, Stevenson.*
Lshinck: *Parkinson.*
Leicestershire. *See* "Belvoir."
Letters patent: *Durham.*
Levally Dolmen, co. Galway: *Westropp.*
Lewis, island of: *Mackenzie.*
Lichfield: *Scott.*
Lighthouses: *Carr.*
Limerick: *M'Enery.* *See* "Old Abbey," "Askeaton."
Lincoln: *Massingberd.*
Lincolnshire: *Quinn, Sutton.* *See* "Covenham," "Winterton."
Lingfield: *Johnston.*
Lismore cathedral: *Garstin.*
Littlecote: *Money.*
Llandough: *Allen.*
Llangybi: *Williams.*
Loch Lomond: *Brydall.*
London: *Choate, Christie, Darby, Davis, Ellis, Emslie, Fleming, Hinds, Jackson, Norman, Ordish, Pearce, Price, Sachs, Shore, Terry, Vincent.*
London topography: *Choate, Cockerell, Emslie, Jenkins, Lethaby, Norman, Ordish, Price, Shepherd, Spiers, Wheatley.*
Long Wittenham: *Hewett.*
Loughrea: *Coffey.*
Louth: *M'Carte, Murray, Quinn.*
Low Furness: *Gaythorpe.*
Low Hirst: *Tomlinson.*
Ludlow: *Weyman.*
Lye, John: *O'Leary.*

Maidenhead: *Ditchfield.*
Maiden-Lane: *Rhodes.*
Malton: *Graham.*
Manchester: *Roeder.*
Mansfield Woodhouse: *Fellows.*
Manuscripts: *Brown, Harrison, Parker, Standish, Tod, Wade-Evans, Waller, Whitley.*
Maps: *Roeder, Shickle, Wheatley.*
Marble: *Aitchison.*
Marchwiel: *Palmer.*
Marriage registers: *Cope, Treacher.*
Mary Magdalene battlefield: *Webb.*
Mary Queen of Scots: *Brodhurst.*

Meath : *Singleton, Westropp.*
Mediæval remains : *Norman, Waller.*
Merton : *Massey.*
Metals, precious : *Collins.*
Methley : *Lumb.*
Mexico : *Johnson.*
Middlesbrough : *Eastwood.*
Middlesex : *See* " Harmondsworth," " Swakeleys."
Middleton St. George : *Jackson.*
Midland revolt : *Gay.*
Midlothian : *Abercromby.*
Military life : *Oman.*
Militia, Northumberland : *Tomlinson.*
Millom : *Gaythorpe.*
Mills, watercourses, etc. : *Buckell.*
Milton : *March.*
Milton Abbey : *Pentin.*
Miracle plays : *Bridge.*
Monaghan : *Coffey.*
Monasterevin : *Drogheda, FitzGerald.*
Monasteries : *Clark, Murray, Paul, Peers.*
Moneydig : *Buick.*
Monmouthshire : *Ellis, Matthews. See* " Caerwent."
Montgomeryshire : *Jones.*
Monuments, effigies, etc. : *Allen, Anderson, Barber, Bazeley, Bower, Briscoe, Brydall, Buick, Cambridgeshire brasses, Carr, Curle, Fahey, Fellows, Field, FitzGerald, Fowler, Garnett, Garstin, Haverfield, Hope, Hughes, Knox, Langrishe, Lynn, March, Minns, Morris, Ogle, Price, Roper, Ross, Scott, Smith, Stapleton, Stevens, Wainwright, Wingrave, Worth. See* " Llandough."
Moorish designs : *Westermarck.*
Moredun : *Bryce, Coles.*
Motes, Irish : *Westropp.*
Mount Grace : *Brown.*
Moylgrove : *Wade-Evans.*
Much Hadham : *Gregory, Norman, Wetherall.*
Mullions : *Johnston.*
Municipal documents : *Bloom, Bowles, Brown, Guiseppi, Hornby, Howlett, Irvine, Laffan, Latimer, Morris, Pearman, Phillips, Round, Welford.*
Museums : *Balfour.*
Musical instruments : *Dale.*
Music, ecclesiastical : *Millar.*
Names, family : *Ogle.*
Naworth : *Hawkesbury.*
Nether Levens : *Curwen.*
Newbiggin : *Tomlinson.*
Newbury : *Money.*
Newcastle : *Arthur, Bates, Brown, Heslop, Rich, Robinson, Welford.*
Newchurch : *Hudson.*
Newgate prison : *Norman.*
Newton Abbot : *Fulford.*
Newton Nottage : *Halliday.*
Norfolk : *Ficklin, Stephenson, Tingey, (W.). See* " Cley," " Depwade," " Dilham," " Blakeney," " Kenninghall," " Syderstone."
Norsey Wood : *Branfill.*
Northamptonshire : *See* " Fotheringhay," " Irthlingborough."
North Luffenham : *Crowther-Beynon.*
North Maskham : *Bailey.*
Northscall : *Kendall.*
Northstoke : *Shickle.*
Northumberland : *Adamson, Bosanquet, Tomlinson, Welford. See* " Alnham," " Alwinton," " Apperley," " Carlisle," " Chesters," "Coupland," " Edlingham," " Gateshead," " Gosforth," " Gunnerton," " Harbottle," " Harehope," " Hepple Woodhouses," " Housesteads," " Low Hirst," " Newbiggin," " Seaton Delaval," " Trewhitt," " Tynemouth," " Whalton," " Woodhorn."
Norwich : *Howlett, Rye.*
Nottinghamshire : *Hawkesbury, Leadham, Mason, Robertson, Standish, Stevenson, Wilde, Wadsworth. See* " Beeston," " Blyth," " Bunny," " Car-Colston," " Costock," " East Bridgford," " East Leake," " Edwinstowe," " Gedling," " Gonalston," " Gotham," " Hardwick Hall," " Holme Pierrepont," " Hoveringham," " Laxton," " Mansfield Woodhouse," " North Maskham," " Ossington," " Retford," " Shelford," " Skegby," " Southwell," " Staunton," " Sturton-le-Steeple," " Syerston," " Teversall," " Thurgarton," " Welbeck," " Willoughby," " Wollaton," " Wysall."
Nuffield : *Pearman.*

Numismatics —
Antioch : *Macdonald.*
Babylonian : *Howorth.*
Baluchistan : *Rapson.*
Blaundus : *Baker-Penoyre.*
Carausius : *Evans.*
Edward VI. to Edward VII. : *Baldwin.*
Elizabethan : *Evans.*
Folly tickets : *Yeates.*
German Renaissance : *Cahn.*
Gold : *Blair.*
Greek : *Anderson, Wroth.*
Lydia : *Baker-Penoyre.*
Malwa : *King.*
Medals : *Fry, M'Carte, Mylne.*
Nuremberg : *Standish.*
Richard II. : *Walters.*
Roman : *Arnold, Grueber, Hill.*
Romano-British : *Stevens.*
Seals : *Hill, Meade-Waldo.*
Silver : *Rapson.*
Tokens : *Arnold, Standish.*
William I. and William II. : *Spicer.*

Okeover : *Wrottesley.*
Old Abbey : *Wardell, Westropp.*
Old Bradwell : *Harris.*
Ongar : *Waller.*
Orange, Prince of : *Ballard.*
Orations, Tarsian : *Callander.*
Oratory : *Ogle.*
Ordnance : *Clephan.*
Orkney : *Charleson.*
Ornaments, personal (*see also* "Bronze") : *Dalton, Goddard, Morris.*
Orton : *Whiteside.*
Oseney : *Salter.*
Osric of Gloucester : *Taylor.*
Ossington : *Briscoe.*
Oswestry : *Bulkeley-Owen.*
Oxford : *Hurst, Jones, Landon, Salter, Stapleton, Swan.* *See* "Brasses," "Roman remains."
Oxford, St. Mary's Entry : *Harrison.*
Oxfordshire : *Hone, Price.* *See* "Bicester," "Black Bourton," "Canon's Ashby," "Caversham," "Chalgrove," "Culham," "Edgehill," "Fawsley," "Fifield," "Fritwell," "Idbury," "Merton," "Nuffield," "Oxford," "Somerton," "Stonor," "Swalcliffe," "Thame," "Wardington," "Watlington," "Witney." "Woodstock."

Painswick : *Baddeley.*
Palaces : *Lane.*
Panels : *Heslop.*
Parish clerks : *Chanter.*
Parish registers : *Astley, Bradbrook, Dickinson, Leeds, Massey, Noble, Vane.*
Parishes and manors : *Bridgeman, Bush, Christie, Freeman, Hawkesbury, Kenyon, Kirby, Lupton, Money, Pearman, Salter, Saunders, Shickle, Standish, Taylor, Tomlinson, Watson-Taylor, Winder.*
Parthenon : *Murray.*
Partrishow : *Thomas.*
Pavia : *Ogle.*
Paxes : *Layard.*
Payne, Anthony : *Rollason.*
Peasmarsh : *Livett.*
Peculiars : *Whittaker.*
Pembrokeshire : *Clark, Phillips.* *See* "Ambleston," "Moylgrove."
Penreth : *Hall.*
Pen-Selwood : *Bates.*
Persian wars : *Munro.*
Perth (W. Australia) : *Hamilton.*
Perthshire : *Abercromby, Hutcheson.*
Peru, Pozo stone : *Harvey.*
Peru, rulers of : *Harvey.*
Pile dwellings : *Neilson.*
Place-names : *FitzGerald, Gould, Johnston, Knox, Lawrance, Lloyd, Malden, Mee, Renshaw, Waller.*
Plaster decoration : *Crace, Fyfe.*
Plate, antique : *Ellis, Moore.*
Plate, gold and silver : *Fallow, Jones.*
Playhouses, Old : *Ordish.*
Plemstall : *Johns.*
Pompei : *Offord.*
Portnahinch : *FitzGerald.*
Porton : *Rawlence.*
Portraits, etc. : *Hawkesbury, Laurance, McDowall.*
Portugal, a holiday in : *Watson.*
Pottery : *Abercromby, Wilde.*
Bronze age : *Abercromby.*
Roman : *Williams.*
Samian : *Gray, Williams.*
Pozo stone : *See* "Peru."
Prehistoric remains—
Animal bones : *Bryce.*

Prehistoric remains—
Beehive houses: *Mackenzie, Munro.*
Burial ground: *O'Grady, Rawlence.*
Cairns: *Bryce, Nichols.*
Circles (stone): *Arnold-Bemrose, Baring-Gould, Coles, Dymond, Gray, Holmes, Hubbersty, Mackenzie.*
Cists: *Abercromby, Coles.*
Cromlechs: *Hall, Dixon.*
Earth-house: *Hutcheson.*
Earthworks: *Gould.*
Forts: *Christison.*
Human remains: *Bryce.*
Implements: *Gaythorpe, Gray, Hodgson, Mann, Sutcliffe.* *See* "Stainton-in-Furness."
Man: *Anwyl, Rawnsley, Vincent.*
Neolithic: *Coffey, Dale, Gaythorpe.*
Palæolithic: *Layard.*
Palisades: *Hodgson.*
Pile dwellings: *Bruce, Bulleid.*
Rio Grande: *Gann.*
Stonehenge: *Holmes, Maskelyne.*
Stone implements: *Callander, Coffey.*
Stones (standing): *Christison.*
Sun-discs: *Smith.*
Tregaer Rounds: *Baring-Gould.*
Trough: *Holmes.*
Tumuli: *Abercromby, Bryce, Coffey, Hughes.*
Purslow: *Norman, Rollason.*

Quakers: *Taylor.*

Radstock: *McMurtrie.*
Ralegh, Sir Walter: *Brushfield, Jackson.*
Ransom: *Dillon.*
Rayne: *Round.*
Reading: *Bilson, Helyar, Hone, Stevens.*
Records, public: *See also* "Municipal documents" and "Muniments."
Berks: *Peachey.*
Devonshire: *Lega-Weekes.*
Dublin: *Moore.*
Hants: *Prideaux-Brune.*
Oxfordshire: *Pearman.*
Shropshire: *Drinkwater, Norton.*
Staffordshire: *Boyd.*
Surrey: *Bax.*
Welsh: *Hall.*
Yorkshire: *Yorkshire.*
Remembrancer, Dublin: *Moore.*
Repell ditches: *Gould.*
Retford: *Chamberlin, Hope.*
Rio Grande: *Gann.*
Roads (ancient): *Barnes, Dawkins.*
Rochford Hall: *Chancellor.*
Roman remains—
Brough: *Dawkins, Garstang, Haverfield.*
Caerwent: *Ashby, Dawson, Fryer.*
Camps: *Bosanquet, Corder, Dawkins, Gray.*
Coffins: *Rich.*
Coins: *Arnold, Grueber, Stevens.*
Colours: *Fryer.*
Gold bars: *Hill.*
Inscriptions: *Haverfield, Heslop, Rich.*
London: *Norman.*
Objects: *Newstead.*
Oxford: *Oxford.*
Pavements: *Baylay, Browne.*
Radstock: *McMurtrie.*
Roads: *Bailey, Climenson, McMurtrie.*
Silchester: *Hope.*
Stanford-in-the-Vale: *Stevenson.*
Stones inscribed: *Haverfield, Heslop.*
Terra-cotta figure: *Murray.*
Tiles: *Lambert.*
Vessels: *Kenworthy.*
Villas: *Baddeley, Brakspear, Shickle.*
Wall: *Bosanquet, Terry.*
Wall-paintings: *Fryer.*
Weights: *May.*
Romsey: *Buckell.*
Ross-shire: *Anderson.*
Rotherham: *Hubbard.*
Round towers: *Cochrane, Kelly.*
Rumboldswhyke: *Arnold.*
Ruscombe: *Treacher.*
Rutland: *See* "North Luffenham."
Ruyton: *Kenyon.*

Saffron Walden: *Gould, Round.*
Saints, Lives of: *Baring-Gould, Cheney, Collier.*
St. Albans: *Bickley, Kitton, Knight.*
St. Francis of Assisi: *Rosedale.*
St. Mary-on-the-Hill: *Barber.*
St. Mary's Entry (Oxford): *Harrison.*
St. Mary of South Gate: *Dancey.*
St. Piran's: *Peter.*
Salcombe Regis: *Newnham.*
Salisbury: *Savory.*

Saltmarshe : *Saltmarshe.*
Sandford and Woolston : *Kenyon.*
Santa-Cruz : *O'Ferrall.*
Schools : *Gaythorpe.*
Scotland : *Coles, Lyons, Whitelaw. See* "Aberdeenshire," "Argyleshire," "Bute (island of)," "Carsluith," "Clydeside," "Dundee," "Glasgow," "Hobkirk," "Langbank," "Lewis (island of)," "Loch Lomond," "Midlothian," "Moredun," "Perthshire," "Shetland."
Seaton Delaval : *Carr.*
Sempringham Order : *Edwards.*
Sheffield : *Gould, Leader, Winder.*
Shelford : *Standish.*
Sherborne : *Newnham, Wildman.*
Shetland : *Munro.*
Shillingston : *Shillingston.*
Shrewsbury : *Morris, Southam.*
Shropshire : *Drinkwater, Fletcher, Phillips, Vane, Walters. See* "Cressage," "Ellesmere," "Ludlow," "Oswestry," "Ruyton," "Sandford and Woolston," "Shrewsbury," "Wem," "Worfield."
Shulbred : *Calverley.*
Silchester : *Hope.*
Sizergh Fell : *Hughes.*
Skegby : *Blagg, Bonser.*
Small Down Camp : *Gray.*
Smuggler's Hold : *Robinson.*
Sockburn : *Eastwood.*
Somersetshire : *Allen, Shickle. See* "Bath," "Bruton," "Castle Orchard," "Forde," "Glastonbury," "Kenwaldi's Castle," "Keynsham," "Lansdown," "Northstoke," "Pen-Selwood," "Radstock," "Small Down Camp," "Staple Fitzpaine," "Stavordale Priory," "Taunton," "Walcot," "Woodlands House."
Somerton : *B., Somerton.*
Souterrains : *Quinn.*
Southampton : *Dale, Greenfield.*
Southcote : *Dormer.*
South Molton : *Saunders.*
South Weald : *Waller.*
Southwell : *Baylay, Standish.*
South Wraxall : *Goddard.*
Spain, churches in : *Hill.*
Staffordshire : *See* "Lichfield," "Okeover," "Weston-under-Lizard."
Staffordshire, public records of : *Boyd, Wrottesley.*
Stainton-in-Furness : *Stainton-in-Furness.*
Stamford : *See* "Bull running."
Stanford-in-the-Vale : *Stevenson.*
Stanley Grange : *Kerry.*
Staple Fitzpaine : *Gray.*
Statute of Labourers, 1349 : *Thompson.*
Staunton : *Staunton.*
Stavordale Priory : *Bates.*
Stifford : *Waller.*
Stockleigh English : *Erskine-Risk.*
Stocks and whipping-post : *Arnold, Whitley.*
Stonehenge : *Holmes, Maskelyne.*
Stones, native : *O'Ferrall.*
Stonor : *Pearman.*
Stratton : *Bevan.*
Sturton-le-Steeple : *Hawkesbury.*
Stury, Lady Alice : *Burton.*
Suffolk : *Redstone. See* "Haughley Park," "Helmingham," "Ipswich."
Sumatra : *Sumatra.*
Sunderland : *Ventress.*
Sun-discs : *Smith.*
Sunken-kirk : *Dymond.*
Surrey : *Bax, Malden, Stephenson. See* "Banstead," "Chelsham," "Guildford Castle," "Guildown," "Lingfield," "Thunderfield," "Virginia Water," "Walworth," "Witley."
Sussex : *Renshaw. See* "Angering," "Arundel," "Buxted Park," "Charlton," "Compton Place," "Eastbourne," "Peasmarsh," "Rumboldswhyke," "Shulbred," "Toddington."
Sutherlandshire : *Anderson.*
Sutton-on-Trent : *Robertson.*
Swakeleys : *Wheatley.*
Swalcliffe : *Keyser.*
Symbolism : *March.*
Syderstone : *Astley.*
Syerston : *Bailey.*

Tara brooch : *Morris.*
Taunton castle museum : *Gray.*
Tawton : *Lega-Weekes.*
Taxation : *Whitwell.*
Teign : *Somervail.*
Teignmouth : *Jordan, Lake.*
Tempera painting : *Lyons.*

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